

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. XVII.

OCTOBER, 1897.

No. 6.

CHRISTIANITY AND HISTORY.

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"AND in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved"—this is the creed of the Christian Church. With this confession it began, for this confession its martyrs died, and from this confession it derives its power even to-day as it did eighteen centuries ago. The whole content of religion—life in God, forgiveness of sin, consolation in suffering—it connects with His person. It connects also all that gives contents and permanence to life, yea, even that which is eternal, with a historical fact, and asserts the inseparable unity of the two.

But is such a union tenable? Can it stand the examination of reflecting reason? All that is historical appears to be a ceaseless growth and decay. Is it, then, possible to segregate a single phenomenon and to hang the entire weight of eternity upon it, particularly when it is a phenomenon of the past? If His person stood in our midst now it might possibly be otherwise. But we are separated from it by many centuries and by a complicated transmission. And yet we are to hold fast to it, to grasp it as though it had an eternal present, and to recognize in it the rock of our life! Is this possible? Is it beneficial? This question has employed thinking Christians of all times, and it embraces

the most important questions in regard to the essence and justification of the Christian religion: *Christianity and History*. My task in this fleeting hour can be only to set forth the meaning and the significance of this question, and to offer some points of view for its consideration.

I can begin with a reassuring fact. The great attack which the eighteenth century directed against the connection between religion and history has been repulsed. This attack found its pregnant expression in the words of Lessing, "Chance facts of history can never become proofs of the necessary truths of reason." This principle may be correct—it all depends upon the meaning which is attached to it. But in the sense in which it was understood by the age of Lessing, which was under the influence of Rousseau, it is false. The whole superficial philosophy of the eighteenth century lay at its foundation. According to this philosophy, everything that has occurred in history is unessential, fortuitous, or even disturbing. Only that is valuable which that age called "natural" and "reason." These were regarded as given once for all, as unchangeable entities. From them alone, therefore, must all real truth be derived. It was held that every man since the creation possessed in his "reason" a fixed capital out of which he could supply all that was necessary for a virtuous and happy life. It was also believed that man was in a harmonious environment in "nature," and that he therefore needed only to develop "according to nature" in order to become a lordly specimen of his kind. This conception of the world had no more need of history, since man cannot receive from history anything which he does not already possess. Consequently history appeared to the logical defenders of this view as a curious and preposterous sport whose solution lay in extricating one's self from an enslaving history and in returning to the freedom of nature. Lessing himself, indeed, sought with all his might to accord to history its just due, but his uncertain endeavors found no intelligent reception in his own age. His contemporaries were sated, rather,

with alleged eternal verities of reason and with a rediscovered "natural religion," and in the possession of such things they looked down proudly upon a "fortuitous history." They severed the bond between religion and history. All historical religions, so the eighteenth century taught, are at best only the wrappings of the only true natural religion—the religion which always was and ever will be. This religion had no other content than changeless reason. Even Christianity and its Founder can claim nothing for themselves in comparison therewith, since all that is special is fortuitous, unnecessary, and detrimental.

Now, this conception of the world has not died out to-day, indeed, but it has been refuted. At no other point has the spirit of our century so mightily opposed that of the preceding as at this. For this we must thank Herder and the romanticists, Hegel and his great pupil, Ranke, and, not least of all, the powerful reaction of Christian belief. The hallucination of a reason complete from the beginning has been dispelled; the idol of a "holy nature" has been exposed; the immense problem which lay in the easily adopted notion of a "natural religion" has been solved. In place of shallow talk about holy nature and profane history, about the "eternal truths of reason" and fortuitous histories, there has appeared a conception of *history*, history from which we have received what we possess, and which we must thank for what we are. Two notions, in particular, have appeared in the foreground with an increasing clearness—*development* and *personality*. These, by the energy which they bring with them, determine the task of the historian who ponders history.

With a correct conception of the meaning of history, religion was restored to its place; it is no ready-made creation, but it is a growth, and it has grown inside of the history of mankind. The new stages in it are not mere appearance, but reality; its prophets and founders were real prophets and founders; they have raised mankind to a higher level. Reverence for the Spirit in history, and gratitude toward all those from whom we have received anything, without whom we

had been poorer in our inner and outer life, must, therefore, dominate our manner of regarding history.

By this means a temper was produced different from that of the so-called Illuminism, and the attack of the eighteenth century upon the connection between history and religion was really repulsed. But a whole line of attacks has developed in our time. In the first place, we meet this statement: "Just because the Christian religion is a part of history, and everything in history is development, it too is merely a branch in this development, and, therefore, a peculiar, unique position cannot be assigned to its founder." If we succeed in overcoming this attack a new foe arises, crying, "Though the founder of the Christian religion may have been an incomparable man, he lived many centuries ago; and it is therefore impossible to go to him with our cares and wants and to grasp him as the rock of our life; his person cannot now come into the account, but only his teaching, his 'principles.'" When this antagonist is also finally repulsed, there follows still another attack. They say to us, "You may say what you will in regard to Jesus Christ, and he may have been all that you say, but you have no certainty about it, for historical criticism has destroyed his image in part and in part has rendered it uncertain; and even if it were more reliable than it is, single historical facts can never be known so positively as to be able to establish religious belief."

These are the three walls which have been erected by means of history against the faith of the Church. The whole conflict turns about these questions; all secret and avowed doubt has its principal ground here, and in some form or other each of us has already entertained and weighed these doubts.

I.

So far as the first attack is concerned, it is the most far-reaching, but it is at the same time the weakest. To be sure, it is the strength of our current method of regarding history that we aim everywhere to show

development, and to illustrate how one thing has grown out of another. That such is the task of the historian is a perception that can nevermore perish. That an accurate understanding of history can only be attained in this way is not open to doubt, and even those who find fault with modern historical science cannot withdraw themselves from the influence of its methods. Those perform their work only incompletely and badly who pay most attention to contested points. But it is only by reason of blindness that one can assert that because all history is a history of development, it must and can be represented as a process of natural happening. The attempts which have been and will be made in this direction have hitherto carried their own refutations with them. At most a certain sequence of phenomena can be shown in the history of economics where the battle for material existence rages; but even there it is continually interrupted by ideals which work in powerful fashion. In the history of ideas and of moral maxims the gross notion of circumstantial causation does not suffice. To be sure, this notion has a wide range even here—far wider than previous generations imagined, for out of pressing and insistent necessity many a step in advance has had its origin. To-day we can ascertain their causes and note their growth. But apart from the *strength* and the *deed* of the individual, of a *personality*, nothing great and progressive can be accomplished. But whence comes the strength of the strong man and the deed of the doer? How comes it that a progressive insight, a rescuing thought is handed on from one generation to another, as unfruitful and worthless as a dead stone till some one seizes it and strikes sparks from it? Whence comes that procreation of higher order, where a thought and a soul are united so that they are merged into one another and belong to one another eternally and overpower the will? Whence comes the courage to overcome the opposition of a crass world? Whence comes the convincing power which effects assent? An obtuse psychology does not perceive that these are the real levers of history; it only asks, "Has the man

said anything new? cannot this new thing be derived from that which has preceded it?" and it is satisfied when it has correctly ascertained that it was only "relatively" new, and that really nothing in particular has happened. No; not only was the word in the beginning, the word which is at once deed and life, but continually in history has the living, courageous, and efficient word, that is *person*, ruled in and over pressing necessity. To be sure, here too there are adjustments and developments. A torch does not ignite itself, but one prophet arouses another, and this mysterious development is not to be penetrated by our eyes, it can only be surmised.

That which is true of history in general, of all the lines along which intellectual life manifests itself at all, is true in the highest sense of religion which is the most deep-lying theme of history. "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live" (Deut. viii. 3). The two great middle points of all happenings were never expressed more clearly nor more simply, and our great historians must continually learn from these words if they would not lose their way. But of religion it is also true that it has passed through a process of development, and that it is still in constant course of development. It can be shown from its history that necessity has been a motive power, that necessity which teaches to pray, and that necessity which makes obtuse or which grasps at straws. But this same history demonstrates also that no aspiration, no progress has ever been attained without this wondrous energy of a person. Not what was said; that was not the surprising thing—the Person came when the time was fully come, and spoke that which the time needed—but how it was said, how it became in time the power and the might of a new life, how it was perpetuated in the disciples—this was the secret, and this was new. Mankind looks with respect to all great spirits which have been vouchsafed to it, to investigators, artists, and heroes, but it venerates only its prophets and the founders of religions, because here it

finds that a power is operative which elevates above the world and raises one above all common events.

But when we thus group all prophets and founders of religions into a unity, the peculiar significance of the founder of our religion seems to dwindle again. Certainly not. For there is no concrete classification which can comprehend all the variations of those whom we rightly designate as prophets and as founders of religions. Each one is a magnitude by himself and must be estimated separately. There have been holy and unholy founders of religions, lofty and grotesque prophets. An inexhaustible fulness of gifts and powers has been showered upon them : measure, attitude, purpose—everything is different among them ; all would be obliterated if heed were not taken. It were also a foolish undertaking to prescribe in what measure the Spirit—that is, the Spirit of God—had ruled in the individual. That can be gathered only from the phenomenon itself. There is only *one* of whom we know that He combined the lowliest humility and purity of will with the claim to be more than all prophets that had been before Him, the Son of God. Of Him alone do we know that those who had eaten and drunk with Him not only adored Him as their teacher, prophet, and king, but as the Prince of Life, as the Redeemer, the Judge of the world, as the living power of their being—I no longer live, but Christ liveth in me—and that with them soon a chorus of Jews and heathen, of wise and fools, confessed that out of the fulness of this *one* man they had received grace for grace. This fact, which is as clear as day, is unique in history, and it demands respect for the fact that the Person which lies behind it is unique.

II.

Thus the first objection has been answered—that no peculiar, unique position can be assigned to the person of Jesus Christ on account of the presupposed form of all history as a development. But now a stronger attack is made. It is said that although the Founder of the Christian religion may have been an incomparable

man, yet He lived many centuries ago, and it is therefore impossible to appropriate Him in our religious life and to grasp Him as its rock and stay ; that His person cannot longer come into consideration, but only His teaching, or, in other words, His *principles*. Indeed, the attack is more sharply formulated. In religion everything concerns simply relationship to God, and everything that would intervene in this mutual relationship brings its exclusiveness to an end and disturbs its intimacy and freedom.

I might undertake to meet this objection by referring to the Church's doctrine of redemption and reconciliation through Christ, but I fear that thereby I might meet with limited comprehension, for in the form in which the Church has formulated that doctrine it belongs among those that are least understood, and consequently most doubted. Such is the fact, however one may judge as to its correctness. I shall therefore attempt to traverse a different path. To begin with, it is entirely correct that religion is a relation of the soul to God, and nothing else. That mankind should find God, have Him for *its* God, breathe in His fear, trust Him, and in this strength lead a holy and happy life—this is the content and purpose of religion. Beyond this there is nothing else, and nothing foreign should exist beside it.

“ Befiehl Du deine Wege und was das Herz kränkt,
Der allertreusten Pflege dess, der den Himmel lenkt.”

The stronger and purer piety is, the more surely does it find itself expressed in these words. This is attested by the Lord's disciples in all times ; this the Lord Himself attested when He taught us the Lord's Prayer ; and therefore we may not blame those theologians who thus express the content of religion. But that is true in the highest sense of religion which is true of all moral entities, that it is one thing to recognize the truth, but another to possess its power. We may recognize and acknowledge the right of the Christian religion and the beauty of a pious life, and yet may be entirely incapable of raising ourselves to the same. It

may hover before our eyes like a brilliant star, while it does not burn like a fire in our breasts. We may feel most keenly the limitations which we would escape, and yet be entirely unable to free ourselves from them. Not only may we be thus—we are thus. The man who has had this experience and has it again and again, but has been rescued from it, he knows that he has been rescued because God has spoken to him. He who has not personally heard this voice is without religion. "Speak, Lord, Thy servant heareth," is the form in which alone there is religious life.

As various as are the courses of human life, so various are the voices of God. But we well know that those men are few among us who, without human aid and mediation, hear and understand the voice of God in the closed circle of their innermost life. On the contrary, one Christian educates another; one spirit is set on fire by another, and the power to do that which one approves takes its rise in the mysterious power by which one life arouses another. At the end of this array of messengers and agencies of God stands Jesus Christ. They all point back to Him; from Him streamed forth that life which they now bear in themselves as their life. Various is the degree of conscious relationship to Him—who can deny it?—but they all live from and through Him.

Here a fact becomes patent which lends to this Person an incomparable value as it continues its efficiency in history; but the objection with which we are concerned has not yet been exhausted. Jesus Christ remains a power of the past, even if continuously operative. But this is not the meaning of Christian faith when it points us to Him. We must seek to grasp this belief more deeply in order to understand the correctness of its view.

Christian belief is not, as is often said, the mild transfiguration of earthly life or a pleasant supplement to its toils and hardships. No, it is a decision for God and against the world. It has to do with an eternal life; it has to do with a recognition of the fact that in and above nature and its events there is a kingdom of holi-

ness and love, a city not built with hands whose citizens we should be. And in connection with this message there comes to us a demand for a change of purpose, a self-denial, and here we find that there is an *either—or*, which determines our inner life. Is victory possible in this struggle? Does it concern a higher actuality, in comparison with which the world counts for naught? Or do we deceive ourselves, perhaps, in regard to our feelings and apprehensions? Are we, indeed, entirely encompassed by the circle of enslaved nature, by the circle of our earthly existence, and are we only fighting pitifully with our own shadows and with phantoms? These are the questions of questions, the doubts of doubts. Now, since Christian belief has existed they are solved by a glance at Jesus Christ—solved, not in the form of philosophical demonstrations, but by the look of trust upon the picture of His life. When God and all that is holy threaten to sink into the shade, or when judgment breaks over us, when the mighty influences of inexorable natural life overcome us, and the border line between good and evil appears to waver, when we become obtuse and weary, doubting whether God is recognizable in this dark world, then His person is able to rescue us. Here a life was lived entirely in the fear of God, firm, unselfish, and pure; here an elevation and a love glance and gleam, which attract us. Here all was a continual struggle with the world; little by little one earthly good after the other was lost. Finally this life itself was quenched ignominiously, and yet no soul can escape the impression that he who so dies dies well; that he does not die, but lives. In this life and death there was first revealed to mankind the assurance of an eternal life and of a divine love which overcomes all evil, even sin itself. The worthlessness of the world and of all earthly goods stood revealed over against a glory in which death has no part. Eighteen centuries separate us from this history; but when we ask ourselves earnestly what it is that gives us courage to believe that God rules in history not only by means of doctrine and knowledge, but standing in its very midst, courage to

believe in an eternal life, we reply, we dare it by reason of Christ. "Jesus lives, and with Him I live also." He is the firstborn among many brethren; He assures us of the reality of the future world. And for this reason God speaks through Him to us. This Jesus Christ is attested as the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*: as such He reveals Himself still to our inner sense, and therein consists His presence with us. As certainly as all depends upon the soul's finding God and attaching itself to Him, so certain is it that He is the true Saviour, Guide, and Lord who leads the soul to Himself. That which the Christian Church preaches concerning Him, that He lives, is a truth which is tested even to-day, and the Church is right in presenting to us His suffering and His death. But upon this subject we will not speak now, nor at all, as is so often spoken. That the suffering of the righteous signifies salvation in history is a fact which we comprehend in the degree in which our perception is open to the gravity of the moral conflict and receptive to the impression of a personal offering. But "we draw a veil over the suffering of Christ just because we revere it so highly; we hold it to be a blamable boldness to barter and to calculate, to play or to trifle with rather than to rest on these deep secrets in which the divine depths of suffering lie hidden, until that which is most worthy seems common and insipid." And besides, we must not forget that all belief in Christ becomes a mere "Lord, Lord," unless it becomes a power of obedience in good. He Himself did not call those His brethren and sisters who saw Him or who wished to proclaim His name in the world, but those who did the will of His Father in heaven. Hereby must we judge of all belief in Christ.

III.

I have sought to show that though eighteen hundred years separate Jesus Christ from us, nevertheless He can have and has a place in the religious life of the Christian, that His *person*, not simply His *teaching*, is set even to-day for resurrection. But a third and final

attack meets us. "You may," we are told, "say what you will in regard to Jesus Christ, and he may have been all that you say, but you have no assurance of it, because historical criticism has in part dissolved his image, and in part made it uncertain; and were it even more reliable than it is, historical facts can never be so certainly known that they can serve to demonstrate religious belief."

This attack is the most severe; and if it were correct in all its features the case were evil indeed. "Historical criticism has in part dissolved His image and in part made it uncertain." Such appears to be the fact indeed upon first glance. I overlook those productions of criticism which flourish to-day and to-morrow are cast into the oven; I speak only of that which is set forth again and again with increasing power. Let us look, first of all, at the external historical facts. The tradition as to the beginnings of the history of the life of Jesus Christ has been shattered; shattered is the credibility of many a story that is told of Him, and criticism cannot allay the old, strong doubts which are aroused by the accounts of the events of the Easter morning. So far as the picture of His life, His words and teaching are concerned, historical investigation appears to transform them completely. The simple Bible reader is accustomed to conceive all the features which meet him here in an extra- and supra-temporal way. He sees and feels only what he regards to be the true kernel of the narrative, that which concerns himself; and upon this basis the Christian doctrine was formulated by the Church long ago. But historical investigation may not and will not overlook the concrete features by which life and teaching were once environed. It seeks for their connection with the Old Testament development, with the religious life of the synagogue, with current expectations as to the future, with the entire spiritual condition of the Græco-Roman world, and it finds these connections to be natural. At the same time the sayings and speeches of the Lord, His picture itself, appear to have not only a quite distinct contemporaneous coloring, but also a certain limita-

tion. It belongs in that time and that environment ; in none other could it exist. But even so, it loses nothing of its force and power unless it can be shown that now the kernel of the phenomenon and the sense and true aim of the speeches have become different. I do not find that historical criticism has changed these in any respect. If historical investigation had proved that He was an apocalyptic enthusiast or a dreamer, whose words and image had been raised to a height of pure purpose and lofty thought by the sublimations of subsequent times, the case would stand otherwise. But who has proved this ? who can prove it ? Besides the four written Gospels, we possess a fifth, unwritten, which in many respects speaks more plainly and more impressively than the other four. I refer to the total attestation of the primitive Christian community. From this we may gather what was the impressive influence of His person and in what way His disciples understood His word and His self-attestation. Indeed, even His vesture has been handed down ; but the simple and great fundamental truths which He represented, the personal offering which He made and His victory in death, these became the new life of His communion ; and when the Apostle Paul described (Rom. viii.) this life as a life in the Spirit, and (Cor. xiii.) as a life in love with divine power, he only repeated what had been revealed to him in his Lord Jesus Christ. Historical criticism cannot change any of these facts ; it can only present them in still clearer light, and only increase our reverence for the divine element that streamed forth upon a son of Abraham in the midst of a narrow world and in the presence of wreck and ruin. The simple Bible reader should simply continue to read the Gospels as he has done heretofore, for, after all, the critic cannot read them otherwise. What the former regards as their true kernel and aim, the latter must also recognize as such.

But the facts, the facts ! I do not know how there can be a greater fact than that already described. What can any historical detail signify in comparison ? What it means, one replies, is as evident as day. Only

the external fact, and indeed one that is wonderful, gives us the last and only certain assurance that an actuality corresponds to our belief, that its objects are not simple imaginations, but that God Himself guides history and conducts it to its goal. I well know the force of this assertion, and am far removed from contesting its justification against any one. Oh, that Thou wouldst rend the heavens and come down, that we might see Thee—this is a cry that is often uttered. But I know, too, that it is not a cry that is born of that depth and power of faith which Paul describes, and that it easily falls under the saying of the Lord: "If ye see not wonders and signs, ye believe not." External authority has much force in religion, wonders and signs much, but faith and piety can only have their utmost assurance there where their content is. Their content is God the Lord, confidence in Jesus Christ, whose word and spirit still demonstrate themselves to the heart as the power of God. Woe were we if it were otherwise, if our faith rested upon a multitude of detailed facts which the historian had to demonstrate and confirm. Only a sophist of our company could pledge himself to solve this problem, for it is a fact that no external fact of the past can be brought to that degree of demonstration that men could erect whole houses, not to say all eternity, upon it. What would all evidence, documents, and assurances prove? But there is a difference between facts and facts. The single external fact remains always open to controversy. In this sense Lessing was entirely right when he warned against connecting "accidental truths of history" with that which is most important, and hanging the entire weight of eternity upon a thread. But the spiritual content of a whole life, of a person, is also a historical fact, and its certainty lies in the efficiency which it exerts. That which binds us to Jesus Christ lies within this framework. It is bound up with piety itself, and of this content the freedom-giving word which the same Lessing spoke holds good, "Though one should not be able to repel all objections to the Bible, *religion* would still remain undisturbed and unharmed in the hearts of

those Christians who have attained an inner sense of its essential truths."

But shall then the traditions as to single external facts have no significance? Who would be so short-sighted or foolish as to assert this? Although they cannot become the foundation, they are still far from being without importance. First it is to be investigated whether they were not indeed true and actual. Much that was once quickly rejected has since then approved itself by more searching investigation and more comprehensive experience. Who could to-day, for instance, have done so readily with the wondrous healings in the Gospel stories as earlier scholars did?

Thus it is true of all accounts, that they were written for our *instruction*. This is a point of view which often is unduly lost to sight in the conflict over these stories, though it corresponds to the designs of the earliest narrators and to the usage of old teachers. It is peculiar of much in religious tradition which purports to be historical, that the spiritual content which is seen therein is the principal part. When one defends something as a historical fact, one defends rather the belief that is therewith connected. Indeed, by the announcement "conceived of the Holy Ghost" the divine sonship of Jesus Christ is proclaimed; in and with the message of His ascension is proclaimed that He lives and reigns with the Father.

From this point is seen another significance of single external facts for religion, which is connected with that already named. They are to faith what the prop is to the vine, or what the protecting shield is to the tender plant. They have given it support and direction, or have protected its development against wind and weather. And what they have done before they are doing now for many. The difficulty is that the faith of one needs a firm prop or a protecting shield, while the prop breaks in the hand of another, and his faith remains sound only in the freedom of the sunlight. But, finally, much, and that the most vital part, that is told us in the New Testament as history was said not only for our instruction, but it has, too, a deep *symbolic*

meaning in the form in which it is given. I know no prominent portion of the narrative of which this is not true. The same Spirit which has put the power and glory of a divine life unveiled before our eyes, so far as we men can grasp it—He has woven a delicate veil for the truth out of sayings fraught with meaning and poetry which move the heart, bringing it near by pictures and parables.

This manifold significance of the related facts reveals itself to every one who contemplates the history of Christianity with open eyes and modesty. To be sure, it is not without danger, for on one side it may easily mislead one into projecting one's own spirit into history, confounding prop and plant, and thereby conjuring up crises, and on the other injuring the power of history as real history and of the person as a real person. But the difficulties which here arise, we have not made ourselves, and we of our own power cannot obviate them. Let us trust rather to divine guidance, since God knows what is good for us; let us with pure thought and veracity proclaim that which we have received, and let us seek to understand that deep saying, "strength and crutches come from *one* hand."

I am at the end of my undertaking. Christianity and history: I only purposed to set forth the meaning and importance of the question, and to offer some points of view by which to judge. You have expected something different in the address, perhaps. Possibly you wished to hear concerning the changes which Christianity has experienced in the course of history, or of the blessings which it has scattered. But a knowledge of the fundamental question, how far religion and history are related and how they have united themselves in evangelical faith, is more important than any other. This evangelical faith does not need to fear a searching investigation. The strict, methodical investigation of the facts upon which it is founded it can endure—indeed it must promote such investigation for its own sake; for Pilate's question, "What is truth?" was not made to meet its case, but a knowledge of the truth is set before it as both task and promise.

ZIONISM.

BY EMIL REICH.

From *The Nineteenth Century* (London), August, 1897.*(In two parts.)*

PART II.

TIME was when the idea of nationality was scarcely rife in Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth, largely also in the eighteenth centuries, "nation" was a mere word in the dictionary. Thank the French Revolution, "nation" is no longer a word: it is the most real of all realities, and the most powerful of all powers. It is idle to discuss the "idea" of nation, or to labour at a complete definition of that great concept. *Omnis definitio periculosa*. Some thinkers—Nordau, in his *Paradoxes*, is among them—have identified "nation" with language; just as philologists identify it with "race." Others have given other definitions. However that may be, it remains true that by nation we now understand a large aggregate of people whose mind and will are at one, and desperately so, with regard to some fundamental points of their collective existence. We are likewise convinced that nowadays no individual person can for any length of time stay outside the pale of any distinct nationality without gravely impairing some of his noblest faculties. The cosmopolite is now what our sturdier ancestors called the outlaw; he is an "out-nation." The Jews of the two or three preceding centuries had over other peoples the immense advantage of being coalesced in a strong nationality of their own. When other people barely stammered the first spelling-book of Nationality, the Jews were already reading its elaborate textbooks. Now, however, the Christian peoples of Europe, too, have formed nations; they have, by means of terrific campaigns, and fights social and intellectual, differentiated their individual features; and that im-

mense struggle has not yet reached its final stage. The nineteenth century has been called that of inventions, such as the railway, the steamship, or the telegraph. We must not overlook that the greatest of the inventions of that century is Nationality. This being the case, it was inevitable that the new nationality should come into conflict with the old one; or, in other words, it was inevitable that Antisemitism should arise. For, apart from other considerations, in its fight against the Jews, or the old nationality, the new nationality wanted and needed to learn the tactics of party formation and other political lessons. Zionism is the answer of the old nationality to the challenge of the new. Zionism, political or religious, is the instinctive reply given by a nation that, as a whole, cannot and will never coalesce with Christian nations. It is in vain that the religious Zionists in Germany, England, and America, with a view of dissociating themselves from the political Zionists, have in the form of solemn declarations withdrawn from the attempt of Dr. Herzl. Thus the Executive Committee of the Union of Rabbis in Germany have, on the 6th of July, 1897, issued a declaration to the effect that "The efforts of so-called Zionists to create a Jewish national State in Palestine are antagonistic to the Messianic promises of Judaism, as contained in Holy Writ and in later religious sources." For—note the subtle but evident contradiction implied in this declaration—a Jewish State in Palestine shall not be founded, the declaration says; yet it refers in the same breath to assurances given from on high—that is, "Messianic promises"—that such a Jewish State in Palestine shall be founded. In the face of a contradiction so glaring, what does it help the rabbis of Germany to add, in a second article, the declaration that "Judaism obliges its followers to serve the country to which they belong with the utmost devotion, and to further its interest with their whole heart and all their strength"? This declaration is void of any power. It is incorrect; for no legal or historical proof can be given for the statement that Judaism—we say Judaism, and not the tem-

per or inclinations of individual Jews—obliges its followers to serve their country with the utmost devotion. We have seen above in what Judaism really consists. We have seen that in Judaism, alone of all religious systems, religion and nationality are so indissolubly one and identical that no real Jew can hesitate to sacrifice his temporary nationality as an Englishman or German to the eternal and indelible nationality ingrained in him by his religion. One of the distinguished Jews of this country, whose family has been in England for centuries, has told the writer of this article that he should not hesitate at all, in case of an emergency grave enough for such a resolution, to sacrifice his English nationality to the interests of Judaism.

The religious Zionists, we said, cannot deny practical identity with the political Zionists. The Jewish clergy of New York have, in June last, passed the following two resolutions with regard to Dr. Herzl's plan: "Resolved that while every association of Palestine with the Jews arouses our interest and touches a responsive chord in Jewish hearts, we deprecate any movement tending towards the formation of a Jewish State in Palestine capable of being construed as casting doubt upon the citizenship, patriotism, or loyalty of Jews in whatever country they reside." This is an excellent example of a style so ambiguous as to admit of any construction whatever. The New York clergy say that they deprecate any such movement of political Zionism as might by Americans be construed as unpatriotic. They therefore do not deprecate any such political Zionism as might by Americans be construed as being not unpatriotic. In other words, all depends on what the Americans will say. Does not that imply that the Jewish clergy of New York are, *au fond*, quite in favour of political Zionism, provided it does not create any scandal? They, too, hasten to add, in a second declaration, that "we reaffirm our conviction that the true mission of Judaism is religious and not political, and that any plan or proposal for the uplifting of the Jewish people as such must be tested

by its spiritual value and purpose." Here, too, as in the case of the German rabbis, the fundament of Judaism is deliberately disregarded. The "uplifting of the Jewish people *as such*" implies, in consequence of the very essence of Judaism, a political or national movement as much as a religious one. It is hopeless to represent Judaism as being on a line with the Christian denominations. It is essentially different from them, in that it can under no circumstances divest its religious from its nationalist character. The rabbis may go on denying, ignoring, or dissimulating that as much as they please; the fact of that dualism remains, and is patent to any one who has given himself the trouble of reading some of the modern researches into the theology of the Old Testament, and into the history of the Jews since the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The religious Zionists, therefore, by suppressing the national element in the dual character of Judaism, place themselves in an altogether false position, and will never achieve what in their innermost hearts they ardently wish to realise. The political Zionists, of the type of Dr. Nordau and Dr. Herzl, commit the opposite mistake or false feint; they suppress and disregard the religious element in the dual character of Judaism, and will consequently achieve still less than their opponents. It is hopeless to appeal to purely utilitarian and opportunist motives in trying to move a complex of people whose great hope and central interest are of a religious character. An exodus of Jews cannot be brought about by a power propped up by considerations of mere nationalism. For in the first place there are no greater Antisemites than many of the Jews themselves. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly all modern Jews, who have received a genteel education at colleges and universities, are more inclined to Antisemitism than Christians of the same social status. It is mere folly to think that those antisemitic Jews who are amongst the best gifted and the most influential will associate themselves in a risky enterprise with the very people whom they inwardly detest. He who undertakes to unite men of

so utterly divergent opinions and emotional tempers must needs have recourse to the one and solitary agency that can work such marvels—to religion. The two doctors, however, disregard religion ; their enterprise is therefore divested of all chances of success. The exodus of the Jews of to-day from Europe can only be made in a manner in no way different from that in which was achieved their exodus from Egypt some 3000 years ago. A Moses is required ; a man full of divine inspiration and an energy fraught with religious zeal. Religion is not, like feudalism or guilds, a mere phenomenon of the middle ages ; it is an historic category, an indestructible factor of all national life, and, with the Jews, *the* factor of all the factors. The antisemitic Jews will keep aloof from Dr. Herzl's enterprise because they dislike the nationality which the doctor wants to perpetuate. The pious and loyal Jews will keep aloof from it because it disregards the religious element of Judaism.

The only way to social recognition left open to Jews, and more especially to that class of them which is more strongly inclined to stay in Europe, neither Dr. Nordau nor the other Zionists seem to be willing to contemplate. This way is clearly indicated by history ; it may be learned—if ever anybody learned anything from history—from the numerous sects or parties, classes or castes, that have in the course of the centuries risen from social degradation to social recognition. The lesson is simple. It spells fight. By fight is not always meant actual bloodshed. What is always meant is unrelenting opposition to one's enemies, and readiness to sacrifice comfort and ease to ideals temporarily unprofitable. This is what the Jews ought to do ; this is what, especially on the Continent, they, as a body, do not do ; and it is for this wretched cowardice of theirs that they have called upon themselves, and rightly so, the contempt of the world. What is Zionism else than that " better part of valour " which politeness calls discretion, but which truth brands as cowardice ? There are no two ways about it ; there is only one alternative : either Jews remain the old

orthodox kind, contemned and contemning, or they get social recognition as real citizens of their several countries by honest, staunch fighting for it. *Tertium non datur*. Every other proposal is mere sham and fraud. They must follow the example, not of Moses Mendelssohn, but that of either the Polish orthodox rabbis or of Spinoza. Had the latter, although the sweetest-tempered man known to biography, not resolutely scorned to mildly temporise and compromise, he would have written not a line of his *Ethica*, and the world would be poorer for it. If the modern and unorthodox Jews could muster one-tenth of the moral courage and heroism of that poor, phthisis-stricken Spanish Jew, they could bring about Zionism indeed, but here in Europe, and in a fashion infinitely more creditable to them and more desirable for Europe. Then Dr. Nordau might write a *Regeneration* of a positive value considerably greater than has been that of his *Degeneration*. With the utmost deference to one so successful and clever, we venture to say that it is not "modern civilisation" that is so brimful of "Conventional Lies," "Paradoxes," "Disease of the Century," and "Degeneration," and other morbid substances; it is that backboneless new Judaism that, while trying to give the lie to nationality, or the greatest achievement of this century, gives the lie to itself and to all such as believe in militant Zionism.

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS AT BASLE.

BY CLIFTON H. LEVY.

From *The Independent* (New York), September 23, 1897.

RABBI S. SCHAFER, of Baltimore, the only American delegate to the Zionist Congress in Basle, who has just returned, speaks enthusiastically of his experiences. He went as the representative of the Baltimore and Boston sections of the "Ohavé Zion" (Lovers of Zion), an international society devoted to the support

of Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine. He said to the writer :

"I went expressly to attend this meeting, and it was well worth the journey, if only to meet the intelligent and enthusiastic men who formed the Congress. I have never before seen such enthusiasm in any cause. The spirit of unity which characterized the delegates, the willingness to yield upon immaterial points so that the great purposes of the convention might be subserved, was a notable feature. Even those who 'came to scoff, remained to pray.' I am free to say that we converted the most vigorous opponents into advocates of the cause. Much more than is inferred from the mere formal record of the Congress was apparent. Judging from the reports presented wherever you find a Jew in Russia, Rumania or Galicia you find a Zionist. Here in America we can hardly grasp the situation, or understand the intensity and depth of the Zionist spirit in Europe. I attach no small importance to all that was said at the meetings, as well as to that which was done—for the masterly addresses of Dr. Theodor Herzl and Dr. Max Nordau cleared the atmosphere and prepared the way for the actual labors of the Congress. It met August 29th, 30th, and 31st, and from beginning to end the whole membership of the convention seemed to be floating on one great wave of enthusiasm—and yet managed to remain so sensible as to deal with facts and things as they are. The critical question upon which everything depends is the attitude of the Turkish Government. If, as I hope and trust, the Sultan will permit the systematic increase of immigration into Palestine, the chief difficulty will be removed. We shall find plenty of men and all the money we need, if enthusiasm counts at all. The two hundred or more delegates to the Congress are only the spokesmen of more than sixty thousand men who have pledged themselves to our cause. The best insight into our work is furnished by the 'Program' and 'Plan of Organization,' which were unanimously adopted after proper discussion and amendment. The Program is as follows :

"The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly, legally assured home in Palestine. In order to attain this object the Congress adopts the following means:

"1. To promote the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, handicraftsmen, industrialists and men following professions.

"2. The centralization of the entire Jewish people by means of general institutions agreeably to the laws of the land.

"3. To strengthen Jewish sentiments and national self-consciousness.

"4. To obtain the sanction of Governments to the carrying out of the objects of Zionism."

"It was not until the third and last day of the meeting that we were ready to form and adopt this Plan of Organization:

"1. The chief medium of Zionism is the Congress

"2. (a) Every Zionist who wishes to possess the right of electing delegates to the Congress must pay voluntarily every year, for Zionist purposes, at least one shekel, *i.e.*, one franc, one shilling, twenty-five cents, half a florin, forty kopecks or one mark. (b) Every Zionist local body may elect a delegate to the Congress if the number of members exceeds 100. For each further 100 they may elect one additional delegate. Each delegate may act for several bodies, but cannot cast more than ten votes.

"3. The Congress must elect by ballot a Zionist Executive Committee for carrying out the resolutions adopted by the Congress, for transacting Zionist business, and for preparing for the next International Congress.

"4. The Executive Committee is to have its seat in Vienna, and to consist of 23 members, 5 of whom must reside in Vienna, while the others are divided among the different countries in the following manner: Austrian Crown territories (with the exception of Galicia and Bukowina), 1; Galicia, 2; Bukowina, 1; Germany, 2; Russia, 4; Rumania, 1; France, 1; England, 1; United States of America, 2; Bulgaria and Servia, 1; Palestine, 1; other Oriental Jews, 1. The members of the Executive Committee not residing in Vienna are to be elected after nomination by their fellow-countrymen. The five members who reside in Vienna are to be elected by the entire Congress.

"5. Each member of the Committee not residing in Vienna has the right, after communicating with the Vienna committee, to nominate a trustworthy person on the Executive Committee.

"6. The members of the Executive Committee shall be the executives of their Territorial committees.

"7. The Executive Committee shall nominate the General Secretary, who shall reside in Vienna.

"8. The Executive Committee shall nominate sub-committees as required.

"9. The organization and agitation of the Zionists in their respective countries are carried on according to the requirements and the laws of their respective countries, and their form is to be communicated to the Executive Committee."

" Now we had a platform to stand on and a plan to work by, so the actual work progressed rapidly. We elected a splendid Executive Central Committee, with Dr. Theodore Herzl at its head, and a Committee on Hebrew Literature, whose work will consist in sowing the seed of Zionism broadcast. A motion was adopted intrusting the preliminary organization of a National Fund to the Central Executive Committee, with instructions to report to the next Congress. This was the only mention of the ' State ' idea.

" While every Zionist looks forward to a time when Palestine will have a free and independent government of its own, the entire aim at present is to colonize the country systematically. To this end it was decided to create a specifically Jewish Bank for the purpose of furthering agricultural, industrial and mercantile undertakings of Jewish colonists in Palestine and Syria. The capital, subscribed either by Jews or non-Jews, must be applied exclusively to productive purposes.

" Not the least notable feature of the Congress were the masterly addresses of Drs. Herzl and Nordau, which cleared the atmosphere and broke down any opposition which may have existed. Dr. Nordau's graphic description of the ' General Situation of the Jews ' was a remarkable and scathing arraignment of the civilization of Europe. He claimed that in Russia, Galicia, and Rumania anti-Semitism robbed the large majority of the Jews of the means of 'making a bare livelihood, and that even in Western Europe the moral oppression of the Jews was too heavy to be borne. He criticised sharply those Jews who had forgotten the teachings of their religion and given themselves up to mere money-getting, claiming that they did nothing for Judaism, but gave its enemies an opening for attack. Zionism, he said, is the only possible solution of the Jewish question—and in that sentiment we all joined heartily.

" It is impossible to repeat all that was said by the various eminent speakers ; but the effect of their utterances is best shown in the work which was accom-

plished and the spirit which they aroused. I regretted exceedingly that America and England were not more adequately represented—and especially that so few rabbis were present. But we had letters and telegrams of sympathy from Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn, of Paris; from Haham Gaster, of London; from Rabbi Mohilewer, of Bialystock, one of the pioneers of Zionism, and from many others. The delegates will naturally act as agents to spread the enthusiasm all over the world, and I believe and trust that the next meeting, which is to take place in Jerusalem next year, will be still more largely attended, and be in a position to continue the good work, knowing that it has the sentiment and support of hundreds of thousands behind it."

THE TRUE CHRISTIAN.

From *The British Weekly* (London), September 9, 1897.

WHAT is a true Christian? Mr. Hall Caine's book, if it has done nothing else, has at least forced upon many minds the consideration of this question. The fact is abundantly certified by our correspondence as well as by many other things. Of Mr. Hall Caine's own answer to this question an opinion has already been expressed which we see no reason to alter. If the reading of a certain passage in the story given by Mr. Canton in the *Bookman* is accepted, that judgment would be far more emphatic than it was and is. The subject, however, cannot be discussed in these columns. We confine ourselves to the one question, a question which will continually arise and to which it is essential that the Christian Church should be able to give a clear and unwavering answer.

In the first place a Christian must be a believer, and in proportion as he is a believer, will he be able to exercise the distinctive Christian influence. John Storm is not represented as a Christian in that sense. He has a few elementary moral convictions, and he perceives that the law of Christ is broken by society. His busi-

ness is to throw himself on the rebellious company, to assail them with rebuke and remonstrance. But the true Christian is taught of God, and must be long alone with God ere his work is begun. He must often resort to the same solitude while his work is in mid course, else all will turn to barrenness. To John Storm theology is summed up in theism, the example of Christ, sympathy with the poor, and compassion for the misery of sin, which is regarded as misfortune and scarcely as guilt. In other words he is concerned with man's relation to man. But the Christian solicitude is primarily with man's relation to God. It is to the invisible world that he transfers the thought, the industry, the patience, and the trust which others lavish on the visible. God and the secret of peace with God as revealed by Christ and His apostles make up the sum of his thinking. It is to these that he transfers the eager interest and arduous thinking which are given so largely to what is earthly and secular. To learn the thoughts that are not as our thoughts, the ways that are not as our ways, there must be that springing up of the heart to receive the mysterious gift of wisdom from above which shows itself in a sense of the overpowering wonder and fascination of Scripture. In the knowledge of God there is much that words and propositions can inadequately represent, but when the Spirit is His own interpreter we know the things that are given to us of God, that are revealed to the faithful, that are spiritually discerned by the enlightened eyes of our understanding, that we may know Jesus Christ and what is the hope of His calling. The Christian is led by the Holy Spirit into the Stronghold—the mystery of Redemption to which Christianity owes all its power, the joy of a present deliverance unspeakably real and precious through the blood of Jesus Christ. It is this wisdom, this knowledge which is power. And it is never truly and perfectly received without bringing with it that wealth of heart which belongs to those in whom the years are conquered, who have been redeemed from all evil, who are strong and calm and faithful, who know the evil of sin and its remedy, and

who seek to obey the imperious demand for holiness. By such the modern panacea of moral perfection as the result of patient effort and the contemplation of a pure life lived in the world some 2000 years ago is measured at its true worth. They know the force and the one force that has moved the hopeless, the wretched, and the vicious, the force which has produced results in the spiritual world which would be accepted in the physical as the proofs of a real agency, even the Gospel of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. And their experience creates an atmosphere in which others are drawn to share, an atmosphere in which Christians can draw the breath of the true life and know that it is life. The impatient world grudges all this, and the impatient Church is too prone to follow its example. Yet it is certain that it is from this life of recollection, of communion, of meditation, of spiritual stillness, of waiting upon God that the powers are born which will at last overcome the world.

But there are many who tell us that all this is obsolete, that it belongs to a past age, and that the time has come to deal practically with the practical element in Christianity. There is the Sermon on the Mount. Why not take it as the sum of Christ's teaching? Let us live according to the Sermon on the Mount. Let us apply the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount to society. Then we shall see an infinitely blessed change, and the mind of Christ will be fulfilled. Let us put aside all questions of His Incarnation, His Atonement, His Resurrection, His power to work miracles. All are Christians who obey His commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount brings us together. "Why," said one to us lately, "why have theologians such a hatred of the Sermon on the Mount?" Our friend was a rosy, prosperous, investing man—enthusiastic about the Sermon on the Mount. When we see advocates of the Sermon on the Mount as the sum-total of Christianity, obey its precepts we shall be ready to reconsider our position. Till then we prefer to look upon it as the summit of Christianity, a summit which the farthest climbing saints see far off

in the dim distance. Christ gave us the height to which we were to rise, and then commenced to build the altar-stairs by which we are to climb. It is by His sacrifice that we are to tread these awful heights at last. And meanwhile He teaches us that a change of conditions will avail nothing unless you can first change the man. The true Christian seeks the relief of physical miseries. He seeks social regeneration, so far as that can be accomplished, by outward means. But what separates him from social reformers is his knowledge of a spiritual secret. He knows that you will not abolish evil by turning the East-end into the West-end. There may be, perhaps there is, as much sin and misery in the West as in the East. Nor will it avail anything to bring about a general middlingness, even if that were possible. Only the weapons of the Spirit will serve us in this warfare, and these weapons can be wielded by spiritual affections alone. To the true Christian sin is an evil immeasurably greater than pain, and Divine love is a severe and intense sympathy. Social reconstructions may be more or less desirable, but none of them is to be considered essential to Christianity. The author of "Joshua Davidson" writes thus: "I saw I could not be a Christian and not a Communist." There is nothing clearer than this, that Communism is no permanent accompaniment of Christianity. It may be argued with great force that the existence of poverty is not a bar but the reverse to the progress of the Kingdom of God. And bold as it may seem, we venture to say that society would be injured rather than helped if the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount were obeyed in the absence of a deep acquiescence in its spiritual principle. Take for example the precept, "Resist not evil." If an imperfectly Christian country like ours were to adopt disarmament, it is probable that the result would be evil rather than good. Other Powers would not believe that we did this out of a desire to please Christ and to obey Him. They know very well that the Christian spirit among us is too weak for that. They would attribute our action to the true cause, to laziness, to cowardice, to

hypocrisy, and they would meet the action accordingly by destroying whatever influence we yet have in the world. Thank God, we can conceive a time when the Spirit of Christ shall be manifestly so potent in this nation as that the commandment not to resist evil might be obeyed in the name of Christ, and doubtless if it were so obeyed Christ would take care of the result. In other words, compliance with the commandment, springing out of a generous self-forgetfulness and a deep habitual trust in God would win its way to the heart even of selfishness and unbelief and might change the face of the world. But until our society undergoes a deep baptism in the spirit of Christ, no such steps could be taken without resulting in merited ridicule and punishment. The Christian is not to be indifferent to any measure that makes for righteousness, but as he knows Christ and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, he knows that his business is first of all to teach the people where they are to bestow their love, their reverence, their trust.

We confess that on one point we sympathise with the present movement of secular or semi-Christian thought. It does seem true that the Church of to-day has lost the idea of a life absolutely devoted to the kingdom of God. There is, so far as we can see, no true successors to the apostles amongst us. Undoubtedly there is an element of self-renunciation in every Christian life, a self-renunciation oftentimes all the completer that it is disclosed only to the Master Himself. Still, when one thinks of the position occupied by our Archbishops and Bishops, and their social rank, of their places in the House of Lords, of the general comfort of their lot, one understands why it is that those who read the New Testament ask for the signs of Christ among us. At a Lambeth Conference of Bishops one dignitary meant to preach a sermon on the words, "We fill up what is behind of the afflictions of Christ." Archbishop Tait, who was, to say the least, a man of good sense, thought that this would be ridiculous. We are the last to quarrel with the mod-

est rewards which are bestowed upon acceptable teachers of religion, but there is no denying that they are very real and very consoling. It has always appeared to us that the average missionary should be made comfortable, so that he may do his best work, and he is made so comfortable that now no one talks about the sacrifices made by missionaries. Still, the higher view is that missionaries should not be remunerated in proportion to the sacrifice involved, but *by* the sacrifice involved. We have no practical suggestions to make, but was Cardinal Newman wrong when he saw something in the strenuous societies of the Middle Ages which came nearer to Apostolic fashion than anything we have amongst us now? Are they mistaken who believe that before vehement forms of faith come back again there will be a religious movement similar to that of the first days of the Gospel? That new movement will not ignore science, and art, and literature, and political economy, but it will go beneath them and beyond them. God will choose again the things that are not to bring to nought the things that are. Christian teachers will be wise not to ignore the restless, uneasy, deep-seated, and not ungrounded opinion that in the Christianity of the present day the mark of the nails is very faint, and sometimes hardly traceable at all. It was not so, it has never been so, in the great days of the Gospel.

It is in essence not unchristian to be irritated, as so many are irritated, by the slowness of Christian progress. There may be a righteous gloom at the thought of the present aspect of society. Nor will this be removed by the reflection that Christianity has never been more than an ingredient in the world's living principles. It has never been the substance of these principles. But perhaps it is well, in the whole conduct of life, to remember that even for exalted and enthusiastic natures there should be a wise patience. The day's work must be done in a quiet, day-by-day, trusting fashion. We are not to take the measure of the years or the things that are seen in judging of our Lord's Kingdom. One day we shall see more clearly,

more justly, more divinely. In one of Jean Ingelow's forgotten novels there is a beautiful description of a tender tropical night. The thought comes up, "The world is yet young, she is a wild thing, that God and His Time has only half tamed." We have felt that God has had the world in hand very long and sent her on very far, and we are amazed and wearied in the greatness of our way. But one day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day. Does He not say to us, "It is not long, it is only a very little while; it is not far, only a very little way"?

THE EQUIVOCAL SPIRIT AND ATTITUDE OF B. FAY MILLS.

From *The Christian Advocate* (New York), September 23, 1897.

To analyze mentally and morally a minister in the prime of life, entering upon a new career, would be of questionable propriety, should there be adverse criticism, but would be especially indelicate if attempted by a representative of another denomination, unless something occurred seriously affecting both bodies. Such a situation is created by recent acts of B. Fay Mills, and their explanation by himself.

As an evangelical seeking the co-operation of all evangelical Christians, and visiting the chief cities of the Union, of late he has pursued a course adapted to reflect unfavorably upon those with whom he has co-operated.

We purpose to derive chiefly from himself the evidence of his real character, that the degree of importance of his change may be readily and justly estimated.

I. HIS PAST.

Mr. Mills went out from one of the most godly and pious families, thoroughly orthodox according to the standard of the times. In his early life he was very restless, studied awhile in a seminary in New England,

entered Hamilton College, went thence to Wooster University, thence to Carlton College, Northfield, Minn., and last to Lake Forest University, whence he was graduated in the first class of that institution. Before entering the ministry he was some years in California. After he entered the ministry he was for a while pastor at Leadville, Col., in its wild days.

Later he appeared as an evangelist, and soon began to attract attention. There were some excellent features in his methods. He conducted his meetings upon a higher plane than most specialists of the sort, and displayed unusual powers of organization.

The *Christian Advocate* hailed his appearance with delight, and hoped from his efforts a permanent demonstration that an evangelical movement could be successfully conducted without doubtful or unsavory expedients which savor of the wisdom of this world. Six or seven years ago we published the following commendation :

" Mr. Mills is one of the most sensible and judicious of professional evangelists. We observed his work in one of the larger towns in New Jersey, and saw nothing worthy of mention to criticise."

However, what we saw there led us to make inquiries in other parts of the country, and to attend his meetings elsewhere as opportunity offered. The result soon was a conviction that he was surrendering the biblical, and particularly the Christian, way of preaching the Gospel for what might be called the ethical, and also that he was beginning to use orthodox phraseology in a different sense from that in which the evangelical Churches employ it.

It became obvious as the years passed that Mr. Mills was undergoing a still more serious change both in spirit and teaching, so that early in 1896 we wrote and specifically addressed to him a public letter referring to our early commendation, and then said :

" But a change appears to have come over you. The spiritual results of your labors in the particulars in which they first attracted attention grow less, and your mind appears to be more and more absorbed in subjects

removed from the sphere of your earlier efforts. Religious papers of the best class, which commended you without reserve, are now speaking cautiously; and some, though with evident regret, criticise adversely your omissions from and additions to the substance of your message."

II. HIS PRESENT ATTITUDE.

It is a common charge that when a man belonging to a party or Church changes his principles those whom he leaves denounce him. Before he departed they honored and praised him. When he changes they discover that he has all along been weak in mind or questionable in morals. Certainly, often there is some ground for the charge. But in the case of Mr. Mills, for more than four years we have discerned that he was as "salt that has lost its savor," and have from time to time, when the facts required it, directed public attention to his changes and inconsistencies.

When *The Congregationalist* asked him a few weeks ago whether he had joined the Unitarians, the editor of that paper had so much confidence in him that he was inclined to accept his letter as a denial of such a purpose. Judging him by his past, we thought we discerned in the letter to our valued contemporary a disingenuous feeler, and shall place the reader in a position to judge for himself.

Mr. Mills has addressed to the editor of *The Congregationalist*, the editor of *The Evangelist*, the editor of *The Independent*, and the editors of several other papers a statement.

As *The Congregationalist* justly brought him to book for preaching under the auspices of Edward Everett Hale, and allowing the public to believe him in full fellowship with the Unitarian body, we deduce our evidence from the statement which he sent to that paper. It opens thus:

"Some time ago you courteously requested me to state whether I contemplated joining the Unitarian denomination. In reply I was as explicit as I could well be at the time, and tried to emphasize what

seemed to me the true basis of religious fellowship. . . . My position has not been suddenly acquired, but is the result of long conscious and unconscious transformation, by which I have lost some of my theological opinions, but have preserved all the religion I ever possessed."

It is a question whether he or any other person is a competent witness on the second part of that statement. One may indeed know that he has lost "some of his theological opinions," but if a man has undergone a great transformation, very slowly, consciously, and unconsciously, he may be the last person qualified to state whether he has preserved all the religion he ever possessed.

As to his *doctrines* he says :

"I have for several years been gradually modifying my theories. I never in my evangelistic work preached the old school theology, which has always seemed to me unnatural and immoral."

Those persons who have said, in answer to some criticism, that Mr. Mills was as evangelical as Mr. Moody, will do well to consider this unblushing confession.

He observes that for the most part he sympathizes with the views of such men as Maurice and Bushnell,—perhaps as vague names as he could give from the point of view of theology. He next speaks of the floods of light "from history, science, philosophy, and literary criticism," and says that

"after such conscientious investigation, careful study, and prayerful meditation as has been possible for me, I have been led to accept most of the conclusions and hypotheses of what might be called modern thought concerning the unity of the universe, the development of the world, and the progressive character of revelation."

His next statement must appall many of those who credit him with leading them to Christ : "I would not dogmatize, either in affirmation or denial, concerning the Scriptures, the supernatural character and work of Jesus, or the mysteries of the world to come."

Dogma is affirming or denying. Mr. Mills holds nothing that he would affirm or deny "concerning the Scriptures, the supernatural character and work of Jesus, or the mysteries of the world to come !"

What he proposes as the substance of his future preaching is "the doctrine of progress," "the love that believes and hopes as well as endures and bears all things," and to convict men "of the sin of loving the lower in place of the higher good, and of choosing that which has been in place of that which is to be," and summoning them "to the holiest life of Christlike faith and self-devotion."

He says that he has not formally joined the Unitarian denomination, and that he "does not expect to withdraw himself from the orthodox Church." He affirms that he is now a member of two denominations, and would join the rest if the way were open. *The Congregationalist* says of this :

"We regard his continuance in official ecclesiastical relations with two bodies at the same time as a manifest impropriety. It is not reasonable nor courteous for a minister to impose on two organizations having no official connection with each other the responsibility for his ministerial standing. . . . The Congregational Association to which he belongs may, without discourtesy to him, terminate official relations with him simply by recognizing the fact that since he was received by it he has joined a Presbytery, and by dropping his name from the roll, in order that the latter body may have full authority in regard to his official standing."

III. HIS PLANS.

We have now to show that he has contrived a scheme of bridging, if possible, the gulf between those who worship Jesus Christ as God, and those who deny that He is God. First, like a large number, but not all, of those who go from evangelical sects to those who deny every essential principle thereof, he makes a charge without specifications :

"I have been assured by leaders in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches that they hold practically the same opinions, and that they regard it their duty to stay where they are until the whole Church is leavened or the authorities "come themselves to fetch" them out. While I could not impugn their motives, I cannot think this course to be my duty, and I believe that I should allow the ecclesiastical bodies with which I am connected to determine whether they care to have me as an associate in the ministry or not."

He then says that he will make a statement of his

position to his Presbytery and Association at their next meetings in September and October, and proceeds :

"I do not want to imply that they would care to withdraw their fellowship. Possibly they would. Whether, in that case, my name would be enrolled on the official list of Unitarian ministers I cannot now say."

It is possible that some persons in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches have told Mr. Mills that they hold practically the same opinions ; if so, they have now the pleasure of knowing that he feels that he has a more acute moral sensibility than they, and that he has deliberately (so far as he can) placed his most intimate acquaintances under suspicion. Yet it is quite possible that he has misunderstood them. It is only necessary to assume that he is of such a constitution of mind that if he were to speak awhile with a person, and the other agreed with him on one or two points and did not positively assert a disagreement, he would conclude that he agreed with him. Indeed, the mode of life he has pursued, of accepting without further responsibility for, or knowledge of, so many who respond to his appeals, might readily presuppose him to hasty conclusions. Therefore he may think that some of the leaders of the Churches to which he refers sympathize with him. Nor are we prepared to deny that some persons may be playing the same part which he confesses he himself has played, of habitually, because he thought it "unnatural and immoral," ignoring what the bodies with which he has labored regard as the truth which is to save the world.

He says that in an informal way he has been invited by some influential laymen to speak on Sunday evening, in Music Hall, Boston, on a distinctly undenominational basis, in an entirely unconditioned manner. Mr. Mills says :

"If all denominations are not represented it will not be because they would not be welcomed, but because they do not wish to indorse what we hope to do."

He next naïvely remarks :

"It has been intimated to me that a more formal invitation may be

extended to me later, signed by a large number of representative citizens. Such a platform would be very fascinating to me, as it would afford me the opportunity of speaking what I conceive to be the Gospel to young men and young women who are concluding that they cannot be religious because the old phraseology has lost its meaning, and also to speak out the religious message concerning the problems of social reconstruction now pressing upon us."

The ingenuousness of this hint to the "representative citizens"—and especially to those who are not representative, but who, if they were to sign the call, would be classed with some who are,—shows that Mr. Mills's long experience in preparing a community for a great demonstration has not been lost upon him. In fact, that is in substance the method by which communities where two thirds of the clergy did not wish to co-operate in a great interdenominational movement have been compelled to do so, or face a public sentiment systematically and scientifically created.

This movement is in our judgment part of a great scheme originating in, or promptly accepted by, the fertile brain of Edward Everett Hale and others like-minded who, having perceived the utter weakness of Unitarianism as a propaganda, hope to swing into line the large number who are on the fringes of orthodoxy, and to gain some of the energy which the cold negations and hypothetical affirmations of Unitarianism have failed to enkindle.

If, on his own statement, Presbyterianism can retain Mr. Mills, that denomination, which has stood valiantly for orthodoxy, will take a long stride away from the principles and the spirit for which, and by which, its heroic founders wrought and died.

St. John says: "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." This as yet is not quite fulfilled in Mr. Mills. His case is rather that of such a person with his portmanteau packed, standing upon the threshold, pausing to see whether the privilege of making journeys into the enemies' camp and back again at his own wayward will, will be granted to him.

"Ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge

of the truth," he now takes up the work of "beguiling unstable souls."

But whatever his "representative men" may do, nothing will be accomplished. For a time he may draw a concourse; but when—as he must—he falls back upon his moderate intellectual resources, it will soon appear how much he owed to the general belief that he was preaching "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," and how little he contributed but his power of organization and his skill in managing a crowd. No help will be given him by the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which the Father sends in the name of the Son.

For of Him Christ said, "He shall glorify Me;" and Mr. Mills, in his new venture, has nothing to affirm or deny concerning "the supernatural character and work of Jesus!"

THEISM AND CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE.

BY PROFESSOR A. C. ARMSTRONG, JR.

From *The Independent* (New York), September 23, 1897.

DURING the last few years competent observers have noted in many quarters the signs of a recoil from the skepticism of the mid-century and the century's third quarter toward philosophical and religious belief. This return to faith has been most prominent among English-speaking thinkers, less marked in France, least decided of all, perhaps, in the Teutonic countries. Sometimes the movement has taken the form of a renewed acceptance of Christianity, either in its essential doctrines—as was the case with the late Professor Romanes in England, or in its general spirit, as, for instance, by the "neo-Christians" in France, and by not a few of those who are engaged in current efforts for social reform. Sometimes the result has simply been the re-adoption of the theistic view of the world in place of materialistic atheism, or, more frequently, agnosticism, and the reinvigoration of the religious sentiment on a theistic basis.

It is notable, moreover, that the newer theism often stands in connection with the investigations of natural science. Not only are the neo-theists found among the ranks of scientific inquirers—this was to be expected after the first impulse of the new discoveries had somewhat spent its force and man's instinctive tendency toward religion had begun to reassert its power—but science herself, as ever leading on to speculative thought, supplies new motives, if we should not rather call them fresh reasons, for belief in God. Foremost here is the impulse which science, at the close of its nineteenth-century development, gives to the assumption of *some sort* of a world-ground. In the eighteenth century science, for all its constructive influence in the development of a new view of the world, lent its assistance to the prevailing individualism. Thought could be resolved into a congeries of sensations, many of the philosophers held, and many scientific theories gratefully hailed the principle as consonant with their own conclusions. The atomistic theory reigned in the analysis of the material world, often with little thought of the metaphysical questions which surround the doctrine of the absolute independence of the individual atoms or of the hints which the correlation of the atoms gives at the existence of an underlying unity. Even the social revolutions of the time lacked that emphatic suggestion of solidarity so characteristic of similar movements in our later age. But the discoveries which have distinguished our time have brought with them a corrective of any purely individualistic or atomistic view of the universe. In the doctrine of the conservation and correlation of energy, physics has found a first principle which so binds all its conclusions into one system that, instinctively or reflectively, the mind refuses to rest content with the resolution of the world of matter into a collection of discreet particles, without a unifying basis. The theory of biological evolution has revealed a unity of descent in the world of organic life; the extension of the principle of development to all terrestrial and even all cosmical phenomena, has wrought the idea of unity in progress

into the general thought of the age, little as certain current philosophies of evolution seem destined to stand the test of criticism which inevitably follows on the first successful promulgation of a new world-theory.

It may be objected, indeed, that this inference is itself unclear, or at best but half worked out. Undoubtedly the conception of a unity at the basis of the world or a unifying world-ground is not free from metaphysical difficulties. The number of those who may employ it is obviously greater than of those who could define it or successfully defend it against skeptical detractors. Nevertheless, the trend of thought is unmistakable, and its import in the decision of questions of faith. For here are found the results of scientific inquiry, re-enforcing that metaphysical impulse which, since the early days of speculative thought in Greece and the East, has formed one of the fundamental tendencies toward theistic belief. In all developed reflection man's thought instinctively tends to culminate in the idea of an infinite oneness. This thought, moreover, declines to remain a mere idea, but steadily presses on toward belief in the existence of the infinite, which has been conceived. In minds of a pre-eminently metaphysical cast—from Parmenides to Spinoza, from Spinoza to Hegel, from Hegel to Schleiermacher, the tendency often becomes so potent that the conception dominates their systems. And now scientific inquiry joins hands with this primal theistic impulse. Nowhere is the fact better exemplified than in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and his followers. Much more impressive than their formal reasons for their belief in an "Unknowable Power" is the drift of their thought toward such a postulate, despite their agnostic attitude in regard to other transcendent questions. Very different in this respect is the English agnosticism of the day from the negations of its great forerunner, David Hume. The Scottish skeptic at the middle of the eighteenth century delights to involve all principles beyond those of practical experience in the toils of his doubt; a hundred years later the agnostic leader is at one with his disciples in knowing an

“unknowable” absolute that exists, that is, one that is a power, that forms the ground of the relative world. The advance toward a more positive view of the mind’s capacity for knowledge and toward a metaphysical conclusion concerning the world-ground is marked. And it is scarcely to be questioned that the marvelous progress of science in the interval has been one important agent in producing the larger confidence in the powers of thought and in leading to the metaphysical inference.

The belief in an unknowable power, however, or even in a world-ground without the agnostic qualification is not theism. If the argument stop here, the result is pantheistic rather than faith in a living God. Not infrequently in the history of speculation, thinkers in whom the instinct for the first postulate of theism has been especially strong, *e.g.*, Spinoza, have come fatally short of the full theistic conclusion. Here, too, it has seemed in the recent past that the influence of scientific thinking was to accomplish a deadly work. The century opened in Germany with a triumphant speculative philosophy which tended toward pantheism on metaphysical grounds; as it reached its meridian and began to wane toward its end, the outcome of physical investigation appeared to corroborate the same dreary doctrine. The special scientific conclusion which forms the principle of biological evolution was believed to destroy the argument which of all the older theistic proofs was most relied on to justify belief in an intelligent Creator. For the theory of the origin of organic species by natural descent, was at first greeted by friend and foe alike as avoiding the argument from design of all probative force. Furthermore, the general results of scientific theory seemed to point in a similar direction. If all physical facts are to be explained in terms of matter and motion, if mechanism is everywhere dominant in the realm of physical law, if consciousness itself is correlated with the phenomena of brain and nerve—what boots it whether the world-ground be one or many, or whether there be a world-ground at all? Is not the legitimate inference

the one which has been phrased by a living protagonist of naturalism in terms which remind us of Spinoza? By God we mean simply the infinite sum of the modes of natural existence. Or, more briefly, is not the logical result pantheism of the materialistic sort?

Nevertheless science in its progress is beginning again to press home upon us suggestions of an opposite doctrine. The controversy over evolution had not continued many years before it was perceived that while the new theory conflicted with the accepted teleology of creative fiat, it gave a doctrine of development which at least in appearance implied an immanent teleology of nature. For evolution has greatly enlarged our conception of the number and the perfection of the adjustments manifest in the phenomena of organic life; while at the same time it presents a view of the world as moving toward a predetermined goal. Now from such data we may argue, as many do, directly to an intelligent contriver of the whole process of nature, thus changing the scope rather than the principle of the time-honored argument from design. Or we may join company with those who adopt a broader line of thought and open their minds to the suggestion that where objective reason is so evident there subjective reason can also not be absent; that since the world exhibits order and finality, the world-ground is itself to be conceived as a conscious being. It is considerations of this latter kind, perhaps, that weigh most strongly with the majority of scientific thinkers who find themselves returning to a theistic position. The argument may not be constructed on the old lines, or, indeed, there may not be much definite argumentation in their minds at all, but rather an impression of a general yet forcible nature based upon the rationality which they discover in the facts of their own field, and rising to belief in a Divine Reason behind and beneath the facts. With such intimations of theism, again, the results of general science enter into alliance. Not only organic life but also the forms of inorganic nature show themselves subject to

law. But law means order and uniformity, and these as before suggest intelligence ; so that while the prevalence of law raises serious problems of its own, it is impossible in contemplating it, not to ask the question, Can nature itself be possible apart from an underlying Mind? Every new discovery in science, therefore, becomes not merely a revelation of the manner of God's working but also an addition to the physical arguments for his existence. The more extensive the regions of nature that we bring under the canons of rational investigation and the more successful our efforts to apply to natural phenomena the processes of our own thinking, the more difficult it grows to believe that nature exists in independence of an Infinite Thought. In this way the crushing weight of the mechanical position is lightened by the assistance which science itself lends to the theistic proof. The question of the divine freedom remains when science has yielded of her best ; but the belief in intelligence as an attribute of the world-ground has gained support from a source whence opposition was expected rather than aid. Finally, the theism of science and the theistic inclinations of scientific thinkers are emphasized by the non-scientific movements of the time which make for theistic belief. The religious demands of the heart cannot be stifled even when the intellect is contending with doubt. Sober second thought repudiates the assumption of the extremists of a generation ago that religion is destined to speedy abandonment by civilized man, for it is clear—and the evidence is non-scientific and scientific in one—that the religious instinct is ingrained and fundamental. Individual and social life, as the age goes on, are found to need both an ethic and a faith ; for even the disorders which afflict the State are seen to derive strength from the prevalence of unbelief. Thus various lines of thought converge toward the same result. Theism is not past its conflicts nor freed from the special dangers that have beset it in the age in which we live. But as there are fundamental forces which always lead toward the theistic conclusion, so also new aids to faith have

arisen in the present time, and this in a place which for a while appeared to be the house of her foes.

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RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO PAIN.

(REVELATION XXI. 4.)

BY GEORGE MATHESON.

From *The Expositor* (New York), September, 1897.

ALL ages of the world have had some Utopian ideal—some state which they figured to themselves as the condition of ultimate blessedness. The Greek has his Elysian fields, the Spanish explorer his Eldorado, the Mohammedan his sensuous paradise. It is quite a subordinate matter where they have placed its locality—on the earth, in the sun, in the moon. That which makes the difference between one heaven and another is not the where, but the what. Man's paradise is not the *place* to which he is going, but the *state* to which he is going. The moral value of his heaven lies, not in whether he believes it to be up or down, beyond or here; it lies purely in his answer to the question, "What do you consider the goal of happiness?"

In this passage St. John gives us a description of the Utopian condition of human life; and, in relation to other popular faiths, it presents a feature of paradox. Everything that is here said about the soul's joy is negative. The seer throughout this book dwells more on the redress of injuries than on the conferring of benefits. It is true we have the crystal fountain and the clear river, the pearly gates and the trees with luscious fruit. Yet, none of these things can be called distinctively joys of the *soul*. They are not sources of employment, occupation, permanent interest; their very joy depends on the existence of a previous joy.

All the statements here made about the ultimate joy of the city of God are negative statements—declarations of the absence of some present encumbrance. That there is to be no temple with its burdensome rites of worship, no sea with its power of separation, no poverty with its ungratified hunger and thirst, no darkness with its disquieting fears, no death, no sorrow, no pain—these are the main elements which mark the privileges of the city of God. Perhaps in no allegory descriptive of that city has human imagination so restrained itself. The Republic of Plato has revealed its inner mechanism; the paradise of the Koran has exposed its pleasures; John has contented himself with recording the lifting of the chain.

And yet I am convinced that, for a purpose of this sort, the seer of Patmos is in the right. I believe that what is wanted to create perfect happiness in the present world is not a new environment, but the removal of obstructions to the old one. We hear a great deal about the limits of our environment. Yet it is not really in our environment that our limit lies. The powers of our minds are in themselves adequate to more than they ever perform. It is not because our normal powers are weak that we fall beneath our efforts; it is because our normal powers are impeded. The absence of full pleasure in this world is not the result of any defect in the world; it is the result of *interference* with the world. Ask any man why he is not happy. He will tell you, not that his discontent arises from the actual objects of this universe, but that it comes from some barrier interposed to the reaching of these objects. Blindness, deafness, lameness, bodily defect of every kind, the backward stream of heredity, the clashing of competing interests, the quarrels of friends and enemies, the shortness of individual life—these, and a hundred other privations, are the secret of that pessimism which has so large a share in human nature.

The truth is, however different it is from the common view, St. John has on his side the philosophy of the subject. To be on the *line* of things in this world

is what we call happiness; to be diverted from the line, stopped on the line, or driven back on the line, is what we call unhappiness. Unhappiness is always the result of obstacle—derangement from the line of march. Accordingly, St. John takes it for granted that the aim of Christianity is happiness: "there shall be no more pain." This is only in other words to say that the natural order will be followed out. The life of Christ is a sacrificial life—in this world and in all worlds. But, though sacrificial, it must not be painful. It must move on the *line* of sacrifice, must be unimpeded on that line. Any absence of will would be an arrest to sacrifice. Any sense of disagreeableness would be a retardation of the Christian life. It is a requisite to the progress of that life that a man should enter into joy—the joy of his Lord. He will change his idea of optimism, but he will be an optimist all the same, nay, he will find himself to be in the actual possession of the best possible world—a world which meets all his desires, and which he would not exchange for any other.

But now a question arises. If the goal of Christianity is the elimination of pain, how comes it that, in every branch of the Christian Church, and still more in the regions outside the Church, Christianity and pain are associated? How is it that those who have not entered within the pale have uniformly contemplated the entrance as a curtailment? Why is it that, among those already within, the greatest saints have generally been regarded as the men who have borne most marks of suffering and exhibited most traces of self-denial? The symbol of Christ in the world is a cross. The cross is to the Christian soldier what a medal is to the secular soldier—a mark of honor, an emblem of eminence. Both individuals and communities have courted privation for the sake of Christ. Men have gone into deserts, immolated themselves, lacerated themselves. Women have sacrificed the joys of family and home, have relinquished the leading of fashion and the homage paid to beauty, that they might spend their lives in serious thought. Kings

have thrown away their crowns that they might sit in sackcloth and ashes. A tendency so widely spread, so variedly spread, must have some root in human nature, some root in the facts of the case. Why is it that Christianity, professedly the ultimate abolisher of pain, should yet throughout the cycles of time have been linked with pain in the thoughts of the human heart?

Now, if we look at the passage before us, I think we shall find at least a suggestion of the answer. The passage in our Authorised Version reads, "neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away." Here, the passing away of previous things is made the reason for the passing away of pain. I think this a superior rendering to that of the Revised Version, which treats the latter clause as a mere redundant repetition. What I understand the seer to say is that pain shall pass away when the *need* of it passes away. At present it is bound up in the constitution of nature because there are elements in the life of man which make its existence desirable. Pain exists now because it has a function, and a beneficial function. Whenever those elements which make it desirable shall be either removed or transformed, it will lose its function, and therefore will cease to be.

If we accept this reading, we shall find an answer to the paradox within the passage itself. Christ, the ultimate abolisher of pain, has a present use for pain. He has a function for it in the existing order of things. It is not a state which could be tolerated in a perfect organism, but in the present imperfection of the organism it has advantages to the life of the individual. It cannot pass away until the passing away of that which makes it necessary, that which retards the progress of the human spirit and impedes the development of the race of man.

There is, then, a present good in pain—something which justifies Christianity in being the *custodian* of pain. What is it? I think, in the present system of things, there are two moral benefits of pain. It serves two ends, which, so far as I know, no other phase of our being can fulfil. Let us glance at each of these.

And, first, pain is, so far as I know, the only protest in the human constitution against something which is wrong. It is the one Protestant movement in the body-politic of man's organism, the only thing which raises its voice against existing abuses. Pain is a signal—in the moral world the only signal. It indicates danger on the line. Without it the danger would be equally great but not equally remedial. It is the declaration that our health is bad, or, at the least, that something is required to perfect our constitution. Hunger is the protest of the physical nature against further abstinence; lassitude is the protest of the mental nature against further work. Always and everywhere pain is the Martin Luther of the organic framework; it placards the walls of the city with the announcement that there is something wrong.

There are two states in which man experiences painlessness—at the top, and at the foot, of the hill. In perfect health we have no pain; in perfect disease we have no pain. In the one case our members are so full of vigor that they are unconscious of their own life; in the other they are so mortified that all sensation has ceased. Pain is never the lowest thing; it is always on the middle road between the highest and the lowest. It is that which leads from the one to the other. It is the protest of to-day against yesterday on its way to to-morrow. That is its function; that is its power.

Now, when this function exists in the moral nature we call it by a particular name—conscience. Conscience is simply the hunger of the moral nature. In itself it indicates convalescence. It reveals the turpitude of a man's state, but it does not *create* it. The revelation implies a higher altitude. Sin cannot reveal sin any more than night can reveal night. Pain is a mirror lit from above. The forms projected on its surface are impure forms, but the light by which we see them is God's light. Of all present things pain is that which has the most optimistic aspect; just because it is a protest, it is a prophecy. It is the function of conscience to tell the mind what it is the function of headache to tell the body—that disease is not a normal

thing, and therefore not a permanent thing. As long as disease lasts, physical or mental, it is desirable that pain should last. Disease without pain is disease without protest—hurrying down a steep place into the sea. It is destruction unfelt, and therefore unopposed ; it is peace where there is no peace. That is why, in the present state of dilapidation, Christianity has not only preserved, but polished, the mirror of pain. The first gift of God is the quickening of the Spirit—the wakening into conscious suffering of those members of Christ's body who, from deadness in sin, have been insensible to anguish.

But there is a second function of pain in the present system of things ; it is the longest line of human sympathy—the line by which the heart can travel further than by any other route. There are various lines of sympathy in the present order of the world. Their defect is not that they are inadequate or wanting in intensity. What they want is length of rail ; they need to be extended. Kindred, *e.g.*, is a strong bond of sympathy ; and, if the membership in Christ's body were realized, it would be a *universal* bond. But by the mass of mankind kindred is limited to special streams of heredity, and sympathy becomes merely the union of a clan. Again, community of taste is a bond of sympathy ; but, because tastes are varied, it is for that very reason a source also of division. More than either of these, a common joy is to higher natures a bond of sympathy ; but it is only to higher natures. To lower natures it is the reverse ; the jealous heart is not drawn to another by seeing him in possession of the same joy. None of these lines go round the circle of humanity ; they all fail to bind man as man.

But there is one thing which can, which does—the element of pain. What kindred cannot do, what race cannot do, what identity of taste cannot do, what even common joy cannot do, is achieved in a moment from the lowest ground. The sympathy with pain is the widest sympathy in the world. There is nothing on earth which so equalizes men. The pains of nature are more potent in their uniting power than the pleas-

ures of nature. The beauty of the landscape is a sealed book to the unrefined soul ; but the ills which flesh is heir to, make their appeal to all. In nothing did Christianity more show its wisdom than in attaching itself to the element of pain ; in nothing did it so evince its discernment as in stooping to the lowermost. Had the Son of Man, in the descent of His ladder of humiliation, paused at any height short of the ground, He would not have touched humanity as a whole. The secret of His success, humanly speaking, is His appeal to that experience of pain which lies at the foot of the ladder, and is therefore the ground-floor of humanity. Even Buddha never stooped so low ; he told men that their pain was a delusion. Christ started from the reality of pain. He took up the cross of man. He proclaimed His religion to be the bearing of the cross. He called to Himself all that were labouring and heavy-laden ; and there answered to His summons the representatives of all mankind.

Pain, then, has a second function in the present system of things. There is something besides disease which prevents it from passing away—the limitation of human sympathy. It is at present the only chain that constitutes the conscious brotherhood of man ; destroy this chain, and there is no conscious brotherhood. Whenever the time shall come when this, like the previous function, shall be unneeded, St. John says pain will disappear. Science declares that in the world of evolution a thing will cease to live when it ceases to have a use. So, says the seer, shall it be with pain. When it has no longer a service to perform, it will die. When the former things have passed away, when the constitution of human nature has been altered, when the recuperative principle of the organism has ceased to experience decay, when the limitations of the heart have yielded to the universal power of love, then will pain lose its function in the world, and with its function it will itself disappear. It will have no more place in a system not diseased ; it will have no more room in the perfection of a sympathy whose movements are

already impelled by love. When that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be done away.

Meantime, I cannot but remark that every step of modern civilization has been a progress towards the abolition of pain. Although pain is the natural heritage of culture, the history of modern culture has been a history of the minimizing of suffering. We have seen a gradual mitigation of those retarding elements whose extinction the man of Patmos desired. We have begun to "behold no temple" in the ideal city of God—to relax the bonds of discipline that divide one church from another. We have begun to realize that there is "no more sea," through the swift modes of travel and the rapid transmission of messages. We have experienced the illumination of processes which used to be conducted in secret, illustrating the words, "there shall be no night there." We have restrained many forms of death—by the reduction of war, by the increase of sanitation, by the development of medical skill. We have reduced the actual sum of sorrow and sighing—proved by the fact that suicide is no longer a glory. We have minimized bodily suffering by the power of anæsthetics—by chloroform, by morphia, by cocaine; and we are aspiring not in vain to do it by mental force. And the secret of all this strength has been Christianity itself—man's interest in the wants of man. The treasures of this wisdom existed latently from the beginning; the Christian love of man revealed their hiding-place. The spirit of sacrifice has been the true enricher of the city of God; the Lamb is the light thereof.

THE AVESTA AND THE BIBLE.¹

BY CHARLES F. AIKEN.

From *The Catholic University Bulletin* (Washington), July, 1897.LITERATURE.²

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THE translation of the Avesta which appeared in the years 1852-63 from the pen of the great Iranian scholar,

Friedrich Spiegel, awakened on all sides a keen interest in the ancient religion of Zoroaster.¹ Scholars engaged in the comparative study of religions turned their eyes eagerly to this new field of investigation and sought out diligently the development of ancient myths and the parallel forms of religious belief and practice. From the very first they did not fail to remark the many striking points of resemblance between the religious system of the Avesta and that of the Bible. The doctrines touching belief in angels, demons, and the future life offered the closest analogy. And as these elements seemed to have the merit of priority in the Avesta, and only in the later parts of the Bible to receive explicit recognition, it was generally concluded by non-Catholic scholars that their presence in the Old Testament was due to the influence of Zoroastrianism.

One of the first to give expression to this conclusion was a scholar of Jewish descent, Alexander Kohut, who published at Leipsic, in 1866, a small pamphlet² in which he sought to trace the origin of the Jewish belief in angels and demons to the religion of Zoroaster. Similar views were expressed by Bréal³ and many others, and soon became part of the accepted opinions of less conservative scholars.

The notion that the Jewish religion (and consequently the Christian) is indebted to the religion of the Avesta for its doctrines on angels, demons, and the future life has held its own down to the present day. While some scholars like Ewald⁴ and Cheyne⁵ hold that the development, but not the origin of these doctrines, was dependent on Zoroastrian influences, a far greater number speak of their derivation from Zoroastrianism as of an established truth.⁶

¹ The more correct, but less popular, name is Zarathushtra.

² "Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus."

³ "Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique." Paris, 1877, pp. 123-126.

⁴ "Old and New Testament Theology," Edinburgh, 1888, pp. 72-78.

⁵ Bampton Lectures, 1889, London, 1891, pp. 269-272 and 390-402. Cf. Kuenen, "Religion of Israel," London, 1875, II., 156.

⁶ Compare the more guarded statement of de la Saussaye, *Relig-*

The "New World" of March, 1895, contains two independent expressions of this latter view. In his article entitled "The Devil," Dr. Charles C. Everett says: "It is now generally admitted that the Jews received from the Parsees during the Captivity in Babylon the questionable gift of the devil."¹ And a few pages further on, Dr. L. H. Mills, the eminent Iranian scholar, says: "The entire mass of hagiology, demonology and perhaps of minute ceremonial distinction between clean and unclean, came in upon the Jews from the Persian theology, and with them came a strong assertion of those doctrines of resurrection, immortality and Paradise on the one side, and of Satan, judgment and Hell on the other, which slowly drove the old Sado-dæcan simplicity to its extinction."²

In a previous article, "Zoroaster and the Bible," published in the "Nineteenth Century" for January, 1894, he drew out a detailed comparison between the Avesta and the Bible, and concluded that while the Scriptures far surpass the Avesta in grandeur and religious fervor, still the "religion of the Mazda-worshippers was useful in giving point and body to many loose conceptions among the Jewish religious teachers, and in introducing many ideas which were entirely new, while as to the doctrines of immortality and resurrection, the most important of all, it positively determined belief."³

Those who accept conclusions like these and still cling to some form of Christianity, have been led to adopt a new view of the origin of the Jewish religion. They can no longer hold with consistency that the religion of Israel came wholly from the revelations of God to his chosen prophets. They are obliged to assume that in some respects the religion of Iran sur-

ionsgeschichte II., p. 2, with the words of Tiele, *Komp. der Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 100 and 197. Cf. also Bellangé, "Le judaïsme et l'histoire du peuple juif," pp. 281-282. The Jewish religion, he says, is "constamment imitatrice de la persane."

¹ P. 11.

² "The God of Zoroaster," *New World*, '95, p. 51. Cf. his *Introd. to the Gathas*, p. xlvi., in *S. B. E.* XXXI.

³ P. 57.

passed in clearness of vision that of Israel itself, and thus became in Divine Providence the medium whereby new fundamental truths of religion became known and embraced by God's chosen people. This is the stand that Dr. Mills has taken. In the article just referred to, he seeks to justify his position in the following words: "To state what is intended to be the keynote of the present communication, I would say that any, or all, of the historical, doctrinal, or hortative statements recorded in the Old or New Testament might, while fervently believed to be inspired by the Divine Power, be yet traced, if the facts would allow of it, to other religious systems for their mental initiative; that the historical origin of particular doctrines or ideas which are expressed in the Old or New Testament does not touch the question of their inspiration, plenary, or otherwise."¹

This language is startling to the Catholic ear. The question naturally presents itself, Do the ascertained facts of the early Jewish and Zoroastrian religions necessitate so radical a position? Can it be demonstrated with certainty that the religion of the Avesta has contributed any of its doctrines to the theology of the Bible? It is the attempt to solve this interesting and important problem that has given rise to the present essay.

In order to carry out this purpose systematically, we shall (1) take note of the translations that have been made of the various parts of the Avesta; (2) study the nature of their contents; and (3) examine at length whether the analogies existing in the Bible can be reasonably derived from the Avesta.

I.—THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE AVESTA.

It is from the Zoroastrians of India that the European world obtained its first knowledge of the sacred literature composing the Avesta. They were the chief surviving remnant of the Persian people that remained

¹ P. 45.

true to the religion of their fathers. To escape the religious persecution of their Arab conquerors, they migrated into India in the tenth and following centuries, and formed settlements on the northwest coast, from the Gujerat peninsula to the neighborhood of Bombay. They were known as the Parsees, i.e., Persians, or Guebers, the name given to the conquered Persians by the Arabs. Here, under the sky of religious toleration, they soon developed into a prosperous people, and by the exclusiveness of their religious life kept intact their blood, social customs and religious practices. They have preserved their identity to the present, being now about ninety thousand in number.

The opening of India to European commerce brought the Parsees in contact with British merchants, one of whom secured a manuscript of their sacred books liturgically arranged¹ and sent it to England in 1723. It was chained to the wall of the Bodleian library and remained for years an object of idle curiosity.

The honor of making its precious contents known to European scholars belongs to the French savant, Anquetil Duperron. When a young student at the University of Paris, passionately devoted to Oriental studies, he was shown a short extract, copied from the Bodleian manuscript, which no one could yet decipher. His interest was aroused at the sight of a script so mysterious and at the same time so venerable from its association with the name of Zoroaster, and he made up his mind at any cost to bring to France the glory of producing the first translation of this precious relic of antiquity. The story of his romantic departure for India, of his six years of unremitting struggle against hardships and difficulties, crowned at last with the acquisition of the sacred traditions of the Parsees, is told in interesting and circumstantial style in the first volume of his translation. In 1762 he returned to Paris with one hundred and eighty precious manuscripts in his possession. After nine years more of close application to the study so courageously begun, he gave to

¹ Vendidad Sadah.

the world the fruit of his long labors. The work, consisting of three quarto volumes, bore the title : " *Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les idées théologiques, physiques, et morales de ce législateur, les cérémonies du culte religieux qu'il a établi et plusieurs traits importants relatifs à l'ancienne histoire des Perses."

At its first appearance it was bitterly attacked by Sir William Jones, then a young student at Oxford. He declared the *Zend-Avesta* a forgery and accused Anquetil of being either a fraud or a dupe. But sound criticism soon rallied to the defense of Anquetil's cause and secured it a complete triumph. His work became authoritative in matters pertaining to Zoroastrianism ; for the authenticity of the *Avesta* having been made good, no one presumed to question the accuracy of his translation.

But it was just here that Anquetil's work was defective. The Parsee priests were almost entirely ignorant of the original language, commonly called the *Zend*, in which the *Avesta* was composed, and their knowledge of the *Pahlavi* tongue, the parent language of modern Persian, into which the *Avesta* had been translated and paraphrased in the period preceding the Arab conquest, was lamentably defective. Sanskrit was not yet known to European scholars, and thus Anquetil was committed to the faulty teachings of his masters without any means of verification.

The scholar who opened the way to the scientific knowledge of the language and contents of the *Avesta* was the great orientalist, Eugène Burnouf. With his remarkable genius for grammatical analysis, quickened by a profound knowledge of Sanskrit, he detected that Anquetil's interpretation of the *Zend* text was at best but a paraphrase marred by many inaccuracies. Luckily there existed among the manuscripts brought from India by Anquetil a Sanskrit version made by an Indian dastur¹ of the thirteenth or fourteenth century on the *Pahlavi* translation of the *Yasna*, the sacrificial

¹ Neryosangh. A dastur is a Parsee priest versed in Avestan studies.

book of the Avesta. It was thus only a version of a version, but it carried one back to the time when the knowledge of the Avesta was based on a fairly trustworthy interpretation, the ancient Pahlavi versions and commentaries. With the aid of this version Burnouf was able to penetrate into the grammatical construction of the Zend, analyze more than one thousand of its words and give an intelligent and truly scientific translation of the first nine chapters of the *Yasna*.¹

The work so magnificently begun by Burnouf was carried on by a worthy successor, Friedrich Spiegel,² who, after profound studies in Pahlavi, Zend and Sanskrit, brought out his German version of the *Vendidad* in 1852. Seven years later appeared the translation of the *Visparad* and the *Yasna*, followed in 1863 by that of the *Khorda Avesta*. Spiegel's translation was a vast improvement over that of Anquetil, and gave in the main a faithful interpretation of the Avesta. But owing to the rudimentary condition in which he found the science of Zend and Pahlavi, his work was to a large degree tentative and marred by vague and inaccurate expressions.

The method followed by Burnouf and Spiegel did not hold undisputed sway. It was sharply opposed by the so-called Vedic school, which numbered among its members brilliant scholars like Kuhn, Roth, and Haug. Following in the steps of the eminent linguist, Franz Bopp, they took the close resemblance of Zend to Sanskrit to be a mark of dependence, and looked upon the Avestan religion as a schism from the Vedic. They protested against the Parsee tradition as utterly untrustworthy, and insisted on the method of comparison and inference based on data supplied by the Vedas. The traditional school, however, did not reject the aid of Sanskrit philology and of Vedic mythology and ritual; but they rightly refused to commit themselves exclusively to a method so subjective, involving, as it did, the practical denial of an independent his-

¹ Eugène Bournouf, "*Commentaire sur le Yaçna*." Paris, 1833.

² "*Avesta aus dem Grund texte übersetzt, mit steter Rücksicht auf die Tradition*." 3 Bde., Leipzig, 1852-1863.

torical development in the Avestan language and religion.

The Vedic school did not produce a complete translation of the Avesta. The one who accomplished the most in this respect was Martin Haug, of the University of Munich. Haug brought out a translation of the Gathas, the most ancient portion of the Avesta, in the years 1858-1860.¹ His preconceived notions as to the intimate dependence of the Avesta on the Vedas led him into many errors of judgment, so that his version is, in not a few instances, inaccurate and misleading. The voyage he made to Bombay, soon after the publication of this work, was the means of converting him to a more reasonable appreciation of Parsee tradition.

Until the year 1876, Spiegel's translation held its own as the only complete version of the Avesta worthy of consideration.² But in that year appeared the French translation of the Belgian priest and scholar, Mgr. Charles de Harlez. It was entitled "*Avesta, livre sacré du zoroastrisme, traduit du text zend.*" It was published in three successive detachments, and so great was the appreciation of its merit that the second volume was exhausted before the third appeared. This led to a second edition in 1881, carefully revised and amplified with notes, indexes, and a masterly introduction to the study of the books and of the religion of the Avesta. The learned author followed the method adopted by Spiegel, but by a skillful use of the advances made in Avestan studies, to which he contributed not a little himself, he produced a work that stands far above that of his illustrious predecessor.

While de Harlez was busy with his translation, two other scholars were at work on a rendering that would afford English readers a reliable means of access to the thought of the Avesta. Thus far the only available

¹ "*Die fünf Gatha des Zarathustra.*" 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1858-1860.

² In the years 1858-62 there appeared in Berlin a translation in Polish and French on a new plan of the *Zend-Avesta*, corrected into the name *Zenddaschta*. The author, M. Pietraszewski, failed to shed glory on his name.

work in English was Bleek's translation of Spiegel, published in 1864. With the advance in Iranian scholarship, the need of a new and independent version was felt. The University of Oxford had already matured its plan of bringing out, under the judicious direction of Max Müller, uniform and trustworthy versions of the sacred books of the East. In 1877 the great Zend scholar, James Darmesteter, was commissioned to make the translation of the Avesta. Three years later appeared his translation of the Vendidad, with an excellent introduction,¹ followed in 1883 by that of the Sirozahs, Yashts and Nyayish.² This part of the work was excellently done and met with general approbation. But when requested to finish the work by bringing out the Yasna and Visparad, he declined on the ground that he was not yet sufficiently prepared. These two books, he maintained, being liturgical, could not be properly interpreted till one was thoroughly acquainted with the religious rites they presupposed. Again the Yasna presented unusual difficulties on account of the archaic and abstruse hymns it contained.

The task refused by Darmesteter was accepted by Dr. L. H. Mills, now of Oxford. His translation of the Yasna, Afringans, Gahs, and various Fragments³ which appeared in 1887, was the fruit of ten years' diligent study of the Avesta in the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, no less than in the original. But his work, valuable as it is, cannot be pronounced a masterpiece. Not to speak of his tendency to read his own ideas of spirituality into the obscure Gathic text,⁴ his style of translation is anything but happy, being heavy, unnatural, and saturated with antiquated words such as yea, aye, ye, verily, and the like. This, together with the excessive use of parentheses, tends to weary rather than interest the reader.

In declining the invitation to translate the Yasna, Darmesteter did not renounce the laudable ambition to give to the world a complete translation of the Avesta. After his fruitful studies in Bombay in the

¹ S. B. E. IV.² S. B. E. XXIII.³ S. B. E. XXXI.⁴ Cf. Y. 30; also introd. to Y. 28. S. B. E. XXXI.

years 1886-87, armed with the precious results of West's studies in the Pahlavi literature, he set himself to the task of translating the entire Avesta into French. In 1892 he brought out the first two volumes under the title, "*Le Zend Avesta, traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique par James Darmesteter.*" These beautiful quarto volumes, forming the twenty-first and twenty-second volumes of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, and containing the Liturgy (*Yasna* and *Visparad*)¹ and the Law (*Vendidad*), the Epic hymns (*Yashts*), and the Book of Prayer (*Khorda Avesta*)² were followed next year by the third volume,³ containing a learned discussion on the formation of the Avestan literature and religion, translated fragments of lost books of the Avesta, some prayers of the modern Parsees, and two comprehensive indexes.

This work is a masterpiece of scholarship and literary style. The smoothness and elegance of its diction, not absent even in the obscure Gathas, would never lead the casual reader to suspect the many difficulties that hampered the progress of translation. Iranian scholars have lavished praise on its accuracy and on the fullness of information scattered through the work in copious notes and special dissertations. It stands at the head of the translations of the Avesta, and though doubtless destined to many minor corrections with the advance of Iranian studies, will rank as a classic in the literature of oriental philology.

It is thus chiefly through the versions of Darmesteter, Mills and de Harlez, that scholars unacquainted with Zend have access to the ideas contained in the Avesta. In the main outlines they are at one, but they do not agree in many points of detail, some of which, if placed beyond doubt, would be of great importance for doctrinal study. This disagreement is most prominent in the Gathic hymns.

As an illustration of the uncertainty of meaning that prevails in this portion of the Avesta, it is worth while to compare the series of versions which Mills, de Har-

¹ Vol. I. ² Vol. II. ³ Vol. 24 of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*.

lez, and Darmesteter give of Yasna 30 : 4. In his article on "Zoroaster and the Bible" Mills based his assertion that heaven and hell are, according to Gathas, little more than mental states on the following version : " The two spirits came together at the first, and determined how life at the last shall be ordered, for the wicked (Hell), the worst life ; for the holy the best mind (Heaven)."¹

Compare this with de Harlez's version : " (Let me say) this, too, that these two spirits met at the first to create life and death and the final lot of the creature ; (these two spirits who are) the bad spirit of the wicked, and the good spirit of the just."²

Darmesteter gives another variation : " And these two spirits met at the creation of the first individual (bringing) life and death ; and so will it be till the end of the world, the wicked belonging to the Bad Spirit, pious thought to the Good."³

Divergencies like these are unfortunately but too common. Let the curious reader take any one of the Gathic hymns and compare the versions of Mills, de Harlez and Darmesteter, and he will be struck by the varieties of meaning that present themselves on every page. In other portions of the Avesta the uniformity is greater, but by no means perfect.

The conclusion that forces itself on every thoughtful mind is, that in the reconstruction of the early Avestan religion those renderings alone offer a trustworthy basis which are common to the three translators. A fair amount of probability may be assigned to meanings supported by two of them, especially if one of these two be Darmesteter. But it would be rash to attach to the text a reliable meaning where the three translators are at odds with one another.⁴

¹ "Nineteenth Century," 1894, p. 54. Cf. S. B. E. XXXI., p. 25. In his Bampton Lectures, p. 398, Professor Cheyne gives expression to this view of Mills as if it were an unquestioned feature of Zoroastrian theology.

² Trans. from Avesta, p. 321.

³ Trans. from Zend-Avesta, I., p. 221.

⁴ For this reason Max Müller is at fault in concluding from his (and Haug's) doubtful version of Yasht 1 : 8 (accepted neither by de

II.—THE AVESTA AND ITS CONTENTS.

The Avesta of to-day, which is but a remnant of the twenty-one sacred nasks or books that existed during the Sassanian dynasty (226-652 A.D.), comprises the following parts :

1. The Yasna and Visparad, two books making practically one and constituting the liturgy of the public sacrifice.
2. The Vendidad, the book of the laws of purification and exorcism.
3. The Yashts, prayers of praise in honor of the supreme God Ormazd and his created deities.
4. Four small collections of prayers for minor devotions. They are the Gahs, prayers for different parts of the day and night ; the Sirozahs, prayers for the days of the month ; Afringans, prayers for certain festivals of the year ; and the Nyayish, devotions to certain deities of nature. These four collections, together with the preserved fragments in Zend of the lost nasks, are often grouped together under the title Khorda Avesta, or Little Avesta. The exact application of this term is not fixed, for it sometimes excludes the Sirozahs, sometimes includes the Yashts, as well as a number of short prayers, which are nothing more than extracts from different parts of the Avesta.¹

THE YASNA.²

The most important part of the modern Avesta is the Yasna, the Sacrifice. It is a book of liturgical prayers and invocations to accompany the supreme act of worship in honor of Ormazd and his creation. This ceremony is still performed by the Parsees. It is not a bloody sacrifice. The principal offering consists of the

Harlez, Darmesteter nor West), that Ex. III., 14, "I am that I am," is probably an interpolation of Avestan origin. Cf. Gifford Lectures, 1892, p. 55.

¹ Darm., "Zend-Avesta," III., pp. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

² The references to the texts are according to Darmesteter's French translation, which alone will be designated by the name Zend-Avesta.

sacred drink Haoma, a slightly inebriating juice crushed out of the stems of the Haoma plant, and like its Vedic equivalent Soma, supposed to give both physical and spiritual strength to him who drinks of it. It is not consumed clear. In the mortar with the Haoma sprigs are also crushed some twigs of pomegranate, and to this mixture are added a few drops of milk and of water, both being duly blessed with sacred rites. This consecrated mixture, known as Parahaoma, is supposed to contain the concentrated virtue of the water, plant, and animal creation. It is consumed by the celebrating priest with great reverence.

This sacred liquid of the sacrifice offers a certain, though very distant analogy, with the consecrated wine in the sacrifice of the Mass. In like manner, reminding one of the consecrated bread of the Mass, are the so-called Draona, small round wafers of bread, which, with butter or fat, are solemnly offered to Ormazd and his Yazads,¹ and then consumed by the priest and faithful after the manner of a communion service. The butter or fat doubtless stands as the survival and substitute of the ancient animal victims.²

There are offerings, besides, of choice wood and incense for the sacred fire, whose flame, personified as Atar, the son of Ormazd, is symbolic of the Creator; and, lastly, there are libations of consecrated water mingled with a few drops of Parahaoma and poured in part on the so-called Baresma, the bundle of blessed twigs representing the vegetable creation, and in part into the well adjoining the place of sacrifice as an offering to the waters.

It is the prayers that accompany the preparation and consummation of these various offerings that make up the book Yasna.

Of the seventy-two chapters composing this book, a large number are lacking in originality. They consist to a great extent of monotonous litanies, in which the various elements of the sacrifice are announced, consecrated, and offered up to Ormazd and his many Yazads,

¹ *I.e.*, inferior deities worthy of veneration.

² *Zend-Avesta* I., pp. lxv., lxvi.

and abound in quotations and imitations. By far the most interesting portion is the middle part, comprising chapters 11-58. The bulk of these chapters is written in an archaic form of Zend that is found nowhere else in the Avesta. These are the so-called Gathas, or songs, the most ancient portion of the Avesta.

The Gathas, in the strict sense of the term, consist of but seventeen hymns, arranged in five groups by reason of their different kinds of meter.

Besides these, which for convenience sake may be designated as the lyric Gathas, there are a number of prayers composed in the same archaic dialect and likewise known as Gathas¹ in the later parts of the Avesta. They are four short metrical formulas which play an important rôle in the Avestan rites, and a series of seven prayers in prose, called the Gatha of the Seven Chapters. This prose Gatha is of more recent origin than the lyric Gathas themselves.²

The fact that the lyric Gathas are the most ancient records of the Zoroastrian religion, gives them an importance that the other parts of the Avesta cannot claim. Let us then examine their contents first and see what they set forth.

The first thing that strikes us is the profoundly spiritual conception of the supreme deity. This deity, sometimes called Ahura,³ Lord, sometimes, Mazda,⁴ Knowing One, more commonly, Ahura Mazda⁵ (Ormazd), Omniscient Lord, is the one supreme God,⁶ creator and lord of the world,⁷ having called it into being by his thought.⁸ As his name Mazda implies, he knows all things, he cannot be deceived; he sees the hidden thoughts of men, and takes account of all they do.⁹ He is the Spenta Mainyu, the bountiful spirit, who has provided pastures and cattle for the good of man.¹⁰ He is the source of prosperity, happiness and

¹ Cf. Vend. 10: 4, 10, 12.

² Cf. S. B. E. XXXI., 281.

³ Y. 28: 6, 8.

⁴ Y. 28: 1, 2.

⁵ Y. 28: 3, 4.

⁶ Y. 34: 7.

⁷ Y. 31: 7, 8; 44: 7.

⁸ Y. 31: 11.

⁹ Y. 43: 6; 45: 4, 10; 31: 13.

Cf. 29: 4.

¹⁰ Y. 47: 3.

immortality.¹ He is the friend of the good,² the judge and rewarder of good and evil.³ He is holy in thought, word and action.⁴

Ormazd is not alone in his work of sustaining and directing the world. Associated with him, but depending upon him, are six spirits known in the prose Gatha⁵ and the later Avesta as the Amesha Spenta (Amshaspands), the Undying Bountiful Ones. These spirits, which seem at times to be mere abstractions, but which are also addressed as distinct personalities,⁶ are constantly invoked together with Ormazd, their lord and creator. They are: Vohu Mano, the Good Mind; Asha Vahista, Excellent Virtue; Khshathra Vairya, Desirable Sovereignty; Spenta Armaiti, Bountiful Piety; Haurvetat, Health, and Ameretat, Immortality. At times they seem to be poetic personifications of graces bestowed by Ormazd on the faithful, for they are given to men and dwell in their hearts.⁷ The Amshaspands are sometimes spoken of as if they were on a level with Ormazd himself, appearing more as emanations of his own spirit than as separate personalities.⁸ At other times they seem to fulfil the office of archangels, bringing the souls of the deceased faithful to heaven,⁹ rewarding their good actions,¹⁰ overcoming the evil spirit,¹¹ watching over the herds,¹² and giving increase to the earth.¹³

Quite like these Amshaspands, though by no means so frequently mentioned, is the personified abstraction, Sraosha, Obedience or Faith. In Y. 44 : 16 he is invoked, together with Vohu Mano. Like the Amshaspands, he watches over the faithful and provides for their spiritual and temporal welfare.¹⁴

Of a wholly different character is the mythical genius that is mentioned in the beginning of the twenty-eighth

¹ Y. 34 : 1.

² Y. 45 : 11 ; 46 : 2.

³ Y. 43 : 5. Cf. 30 : 8, 10.

⁴ Y. 45 : 8.

⁵ Y. 35 : 1 ; 39 : 3.

⁶ Y. 28 : 1, 3, 4 ; 47 : 1-3.

⁷ Y. 30 : 7, 8 ; 31 : 21 ; 32 : 2 ; 34 : 1.

⁸ Y. 33 : 11 ; 28 : 5, 9 ; 29 : 10.

⁹ Y. 32 : 15.

¹⁰ Y. 28 : 8 ; 46 : 13.

¹¹ Y. 44 : 14 ; 48 : 1.

¹² Y. 28 : 1 ; 48 : 6.

¹³ Y. 33 : 11.

¹⁴ Y. 33 : 5 ; 43 : 12.

chapter and assumes a conspicuous rôle in chapter twenty-nine. This is Gaush Urvan, the divinized soul of the primitive ox. It was the first of the animals to be created, but having been slain by the evil spirit, its soul became the tutelary genius of cattle. In the twenty-ninth chapter it lifts its voice in complaint to Ormazd, in behalf of the herds maltreated by wicked plunderers, and hearing that Zoroaster has been appointed protector, laments that one so powerless should have been chosen.

The beneficent reign of Ormazd is not universal. It is prevented from exercising full sway by the powers of evil. Here we are brought face to face with, perhaps, the most striking and distinctive feature of the religion of the Avesta, its dualism. Whether this dualism was the result of Chaldean influence,¹ or was simply the development of a tendency discernible in the primitive Aryan religion,² one thing is certain, namely, that special stress was laid upon it in early Zoroastrianism. The opening stanzas of chapter thirty, which is devoted to the exposition of dualism, might well have been applied to the introduction of a new and important teaching.³

The doctrine of dualism in the Gathas is as follows. Equally eternal with the good spirit is the spirit of evil. From the beginning these two spirits have been absolutely opposed to each other in thought, word and deed.⁴ The one is the giver of life and immortality, the other is the author of death. The one is the promoter of peace and prosperity, the other of strife and rapine. The one brings truth and virtue to men, the other falsehood and wickedness.⁵ Hence the good spirit is said to have declared to the evil spirit, "Neither our thoughts nor our teachings, nor our minds, nor our desires, nor our words, nor our deeds,

¹ For dualism in Chaldea see Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, V., 194.

² Cf. Darmesteter *S. B. E.* IV., p. lvii. and lxxi. Cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 337.

³ The same remark applies to beginning of ch. 45, which treats also of dualism.

⁴ Y. 30 : 3.

⁵ Y. 30 : 4, 6, 11, cf. 45 : 1, 7, 8, 9.

nor our consciences, nor our souls are at one."¹ The very names of these two spirits designate their absolute opposition in character. The one is called the beneficent spirit, the good (principle); the other is called the bad (principle), in the later Avesta, *Angro Mainyu* (*Ahriman*), the destroying spirit.²

Just as *Ormazd* is assisted in his work of beneficence by the *Amshaspands* and *Sraosha*, so *Ahriman* has at his command evil spirits called *Daevas*.³ Of these three are mentioned by name in the *Gathas*. They are (1°) the *Druj*, Deceit, the demon especially opposed to *Asha*; ⁴ (2°) *Akem Mano*, Bad Mind, the antithesis of *Vohu Mano*, Good Mind; ⁵ and (3°) *Aeshma*, Fury, whose personality, however, is not so strongly marked in the *Gathas* as in the later Avesta.⁶ Such then are the spiritual forces ranged against each other, *Sraosha* and the *Amshaspands* under *Ormazd* on the one side in unceasing conflict with *Ahriman* and his *Daevas*. This great struggle is particularly centered about man.

In the *Gathas*, man is not a creature of fate, led by force of events to be a follower of *Ormazd* or of *Ahriman*. There is no predestination to good or evil. The wicked spirits try to seduce every individual and make him an abettor of evil like themselves. But *Ormazd* counteracts their evil designs through his revealed law of truth and justice. This law is not meant exclusively for a specially favored nation. It is *Ormazd's* will to bring all men to the knowledge of his revealed truth.⁷ Even the *Turanian*, the deadly enemy of the followers of *Zoroaster*, is not absolutely excluded.⁸ In short, it rests with the free choice of every man to which side he shall belong.⁹ Those who choose the right path of holy thoughts, holy words, and holy actions are not left to themselves in the struggle with the powers of evil. *Mazda* sends them his Good Mind and Excel-

¹ Y. 45 : 2.

² Y. 30 : 3 ; 32 : 5 ; 45 : 2.

³ Y. 30 : 6 ; 32 : 3.

⁴ Y. 30 : 8 ; 44 : 14 ; 48 : 1.

⁵ Y. 32 : 3 ; 47 : 5.

⁶ Y. 30 : 6 ; 48 : 7 ; 49 : 4.

⁷ Y. 31 : 3.

⁸ Y. 46 : 12.

⁹ Y. 30 : 2.

lent Virtue, and Power and Wisdom,¹ so that they may know what is right and have the strength to accomplish it.² On the other hand, those who give way to wicked actions, to the delight of the Daevas, are cut off at once from the friendship of Ahura Mazda. "They become estranged from the Good Mind and fall away from the understanding of Ahura Mazda and of holiness."³

There is thus no middle way of compromise. Man cannot serve two masters so opposite in character and aims. He must belong wholly to Mazda or to Ahriman. "They who know, O Mazda, that Holy Wisdom is thy love, and for lack of possessing the Good Mind give themselves up to sin, are as far removed from Virtue (Asha) as are the wild beasts."⁴ Nor is it a question of external conduct alone. Just as Ormazd is opposed to Ahriman in thought as well as in word and deed, so the man who would claim Ormazd's friendship must be faithful to him in spirit no less than in action.⁵ The importance of interior piety is implied in the name borne by one of the Amshaspands, Vohu Mano, Good Mind, in opposition to Akem Mano, Bad Mind. Evil thoughts are frequently mentioned in the Gathas as one of the elements of wickedness.⁶

One of the most striking features of the theology of the Gathas is its eschatology. Here the joyous, optimistic character of Zoroastrianism comes clearly into view. The ray of religious hope shines upon the sharp conflict with the powers of evil. Falsehood and oppression may win present success, but final victory is on the side of religious truth. Time will come when the Druj and the Daevas shall be brought to naught and justice shall reign over the renewed earth.⁷ Meanwhile virtue and vice will not go unrewarded. Even in this life piety is rewarded with happiness and prosperity.⁸ But it is especially after death that the full

¹ The first four Amshaspands.

² Y. 31:21; 32:2; 33:10; 34:1; 43:4, 10.

³ Y. 32:4.

⁴ Y. 34:9.

⁵ Y. 31:21.

⁶ Y. 49:11; 32:5; 45:2; 30:3.

⁷ Y. 30:8-10; 31:4; 34:15; 48:1, 2 (de Harlez and Darmesteter).

⁸ Y. 43:2; 51:8.

demands of justice will be satisfied. Then every soul will be requited according to its earthly deeds. Those who have lived in fidelity to Ormazd's holy law will pass in safety over the Kinvat bridge and enter into the house of Ormazd to receive the rewards in the gift of Vohu Mano and to enjoy a blessed immortality.¹

Not so the wicked, the followers of the Daevas. They shall be seized with terror as they behold the Kinvat bridge, over which no guilty soul can pass in safety.² They shall go down instead, into the abode of the Druj, where darkness and wailing and noisome food shall be their portion.³

We have already alluded to the Gathic doctrine of the coming renovation of the world, when the powers of the evil will be destroyed and justice will reign supreme over the whole earth. This renovation of the world, the Frasho-kereti, includes in latter parts of the Avesta the idea of the resurrection.⁴ But whether this extension of meaning also attaches to the term as employed in the ancient Gathas⁵ is far from decided. Darmesteter, following the opinion of Haug,⁶ attributes to the word the meaning of the resurrection. In accordance, also, with the traditional interpretation of the Parsees, he sees allusions to the doctrine of the resurrection in the vague expressions, "the day of the grand affair," "the hour of the great trial."⁷ But both de Harlez and Mills understand these latter texts as referring to the preaching of the law. Mills attributes to the expression Frasho-kereti the meaning "millennial perfection,"⁸ and de Harlez, while giving it a similar meaning, "renovation of the world," expresses his conviction that it is a mistake to conclude from these texts that the Gathas teach the resurrection.⁹

When we pass from the lyric Gathas to the prose

¹ Y. 46 : 10 ; 30 : 10, 11.

² Y. 46 : 11.

³ Y. 49 : 11 ; 31 : 20.

⁴ Yasht 19 : 89, 90 ; Vend. 18 :

51.

⁵ Y. 30 : 9 ; 34 : 15.

⁶ Haug, *Essays*, pp. 312, 313. *Zend-Avesta*, I., p. 255.

⁷ Y. 30 : 2.

⁸ Y. 36 : 2. Y. 33 : 5.

⁹ S. B. E. xxxi., p. 90, note 6.

¹⁰ Avesta, p. clxxxv.

Gatha, and to the rest of the Yasna, we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. The lyric Gathas, while partly didactic, are in great measure religious outpourings of the soul to Mazda and his Amshaspands, in acts of faith, of trust, of thanksgiving, of petition, of benediction for the faithful, and of imprecation on the wicked. There is no reference to liturgical rites, nothing to indicate that these prayers were originally meant to be the accompaniment of a sacrifice. In the rest of the Yasna the prayers, with a few exceptions, have a liturgical form, with direct reference to the sacrifice.

But even greater than the change of form is the difference in the subject-matter. The religious system of the lyric Gathas becomes greatly complicated by the intrusion of a host of divinized virtues, prayers, and elements of nature which claim a part, as Yazads of Ormazd, in the prayers and sacrifices of the faithful. Still this difference may be more apparent than real. It may be, indeed, that the religious system that gave birth to the Gathas was not so free from these inferior elements as would appear from the Gathas themselves. These prayers are too short and too few, too limited in their purpose and scope, to give a complete picture of the religion to which they belonged. Had they been less personal and more liturgical, they would doubtless have revealed some at least of the inferior elements that we find in the rest of Yasna. The religious conceptions of the Gathas undergo scarcely any change in the remaining parts of the Avesta.¹ The dualism and the personality of the Amshaspands become more strongly emphasized, but that is all. Ormazd remains the supreme Lord and Creator in the midst of the multitude of Yazads that share in his worship. Then, again, it is to be noted that the lofty spirituality of the Gathas is not without a flaw. It is marred by the presence of the Gaush Urvan, the soul of the mythical ox who pleads for the maltreated cattle. This example, together with the reference to the mythical hero,

¹ There are poetical exaggerations in Vend. 22 : 2 seq. ; also Yasht 5 : 17 ; 15 : 2.

Yima,¹ and to the fabulous Kinvat bridge ought to make us guarded in our estimate of the superiority of the Gathic religion over that of the rest of the Avesta.

In the prose Gatha, the three elements, earth, fire, and water are the objects of religious veneration.² The fire is personified as Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and is addressed in petition like a real personality.³ The fact that retribution is pronounced on those who treat it ill shows that the obligation of not soiling the fire, as laid down in the Vendidad,⁴ was already recognized. It is probable, but not open to proof, that similar obligations existed towards the other two elements, the earth and the water.

Another striking feature of the prose Gatha is the worship of the souls of the just, whether dead or alive or not yet in existence, and of animal souls as well.⁵ By these are probably meant the Fravashis, mentioned for the first time in the third prayer of the prose Gatha,⁶ and often identified with the souls of men.

In the other parts of Yasna, the nature of the Fravashis comes more prominently into view. It is generally argued that the Fravashi-cult had its origin in the remote ancestral worship of the Aryans.⁷ In Yasna 16 : 7 and many other places⁸ the word is used of the souls of the dead. But by a change, due perhaps to Babylonian influence,⁹ the idea of Fravashis outgrew the narrow limits of the Pitris of the Indian Aryans and of the Manes of the Latins, and embraced the notion of genii or angels, whose object it was to watch over their respective charges. In this sense every man and animal has its Fravashi, and in the thirteenth Yasht, devoted to the praise of these genii, even the sky, waters, earth, plants and fire are similarly provided for. And by a further extension, in which the protective character of the Fravashi has doubtless disap-

¹ Y. 32 : 8.

² Y. 36 and 38.

³ Y. 36 : 3.

⁴ Vend. 7 : 25-27 ; 8 : 73, 74.

⁵ Y. 39 : 1, 2.

⁶ Y. 37 : 3.

⁷ Zend-Avesta, II., pp. 502, 503 ; Avesta, p. CXIX.

⁸ Cf. Y. 26 : 7.

⁹ Avesta, pp. CXIX., CXXV.

peared, Ormazd and the Amshasponds have their Fravashis as well.¹

The beneficial character of the Fravashis is abundantly shown in the Yasna. They were the dreaded enemies of the Daevas and were invoked as the "invincible, victorious Fravashis of the just."² They kept the laws of nature in orderly working. They brought the waters to the fertile meadows.³ They looked after the heavens and the earth, the rivers and the herds, and promoted the growth of the infant yet unborn.⁴ Hence, we find them invoked as "the good, the powerful, the beneficent Fravashis of the just."⁵ The thirteenth Yasht describes these offices much more completely than the Yasna, and tells of their readiness to rush in crowds to the assistance of the good man who invokes their aid.

Among the few Yazads mentioned in the lyric Gathas we found Sraosha, Obedience. His personality is much more strongly defined in the fifty-seventh chapter of the Yasna. Here he appears as the heavenly priest and warrior. He is worshipped as the first to offer the Haoma sacrifice to Ormazd and to sing the Gathas,⁶ as the protector of the weak against Aeshma and the Daevas, whom he puts to flight, smiting them with his weapons.⁷ His eternal watchfulness over the good creation is praised, and prayer is addressed to him to shield the faithful from the assaults of the Daevas and to give increase of prosperity.⁸

Scarcely less prominent than Sraosha is the river goddess Ardvi Sura Anahita, the High, Powerful, Undeified One. Whether she is the personification of a mythical or of a real stream is not certain. It is not unlikely that some river of Iran may have given a basis for the personification which religious fancy converted in the course of time into something totally independent of its origin. Be that as it may, de Harlez sees in the offices of the goddess traces of Assyrian influ-

¹ Y. 26 : 2 ; 67 : 2.

² Y. 1 : 18 ; 4 : 6.

³ Y. 65 : 6.

⁴ Y. 67 : 1.

⁵ Y. 26 : 1 ; cf. 60 : 4.

⁶ Vv. 1-7, and 20.

⁷ Vv. 6-14.

⁸ Vv. 25 ff.

ence. In his view, Ardvi Sura, originally an Iranian water goddess, assimilated the characteristics of Mylitta, the Assyrian goddess of moisture and generation. This change he ascribes to Artaxerxes, who introduced statues of this goddess.¹ If such be the case, the sensual features of the Assyrian cult were carefully suppressed. Ardvi Sura Anahita is the goddess of chaste fecundity. She purifies the elements of human generation, provides for a happy childbirth, and gives milk to the mothers' breasts. She likewise brings fertility to the fields and causes the herds to increase.² The fifth Yasht, which glorifies this goddess, tells also of her great power to confound the Daevas.

There is another Yazad to which considerable prominence is given in the Yasna. It is Haoma, the personification of the sacred liquid offered in sacrifice. The so-called Hom-Yasht, comprising chapters 9-11 : 15, is devoted to his honor. His favorite epithet is "death-removing."³ In chapter 9, he appears to Zoroaster in the form of a beautiful youth, and in answer to the questions of the prophet, tells who were the first to worship him and what were their rewards.⁴ Vivanghant was the first, and in reward was born to him Yima, the illustrious shepherd, under whose reign there was neither heat nor cold nor old age nor death nor envy.⁵ The second was Athwya, who was recompensed by the birth of his son Thraetona. He slew the most powerful of Ahriman's creatures, Azhi Dahaka, the dragon with three throats, three heads, six eyes and a thousand powers.⁶ The third worshipper was Thritha, to whom was born Keresaspa, the slayer of the horned dragon, Azhi Svava, streaming with poison, which devoured horses and men.⁷ The fourth worshipper was Pourushaspa, whose son, Zoroaster, vanquished the demons with the Ahuna Vairya prayer.⁸ Haoma is then besought in a long series of prayers to bring manifold blessings to the faithful and to

¹ Avesta, p. cvi.

² Y. 65 : 1, 2.

³ Y. 9 : 2 ; 10 : 21 ; 42 : 5.

⁴ Y. 9 : 1, 2.

⁵ Vv. 4, 5.

⁶ Vv. 6-8.

⁷ Vv. 9-11.

⁸ Vv. 12-15.

paralyze the wicked efforts of Daevas and of hostile men.

Along with these Yazads are worshipped many others in the Yasna, though they do not figure so prominently. Many of them are personified abstractions, as Rashnu and Arshtat, Truth and Loyalty, Verethraghna, Victory, Daena, Religion and others. Other Yazads are Mithra, the Friend, as his name implies, one of the ancient Aryan light-gods, invoked as the "lord of wide fields, with a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes,"¹ the dreaded enemy of the Daevas, the great judge and avenger of wrong, especially of violated contracts;² then objects of nature, as the Sun, the "swift-horsed, the eye of Ormazd;"³ the Moon, the Stars, and in particular the brilliant and glorious star Tishtrya.⁴ All of these Yazads, excepting the Stars taken collectively, are honored by special Yashts.

To the names of the demons mentioned in the Gathas very little addition is made in the rest of the Yasna. Besides the mythical dragons mentioned in the Hom-Yasht, Vidhotu is named the demon of death, who is said in Vendidad 5 : 8, 9 to kill those who perish in water or fire.⁵ The personality of Aeshma is strongly emphasized. He is called "Aeshma with the deadly weapon."⁶ Sraosha, the defender of the faithful, deals him a murderous blow on the head with his weapon, assailing him as he would a robber.⁷

The Visparad is little more than a supplement of the Yasna. Its twenty-four Kardas or chapters are unimportant for doctrinal study, being composed entirely of monotonous litanies of liturgical invocations, in which all the Yazads, without exception, are duly commemorated. Hence the name Visparad, All the Lords. This book does not represent an independent liturgy. Its prayers are never said alone, but serve as an adjunct to the prayers of the Yasna to give greater solemnity to the sacrifice. At such times its Kardas are

¹ Y. 1 : 3.

² Cf. Yasht 10.

³ Y. 1 : 11.

⁴ Y. 1 : 11. Tishtrya is the star Sirius.

⁵ Y. 57-26.

⁶ Y. 10 : 8 ; 27 ; 57 : 31.

⁷ Y. 57 : 10 and 31.

interspersed through the Yasna, some chapters of which are then omitted to give place to the more elaborate developments of the Visparad.

THE VENDIDAD.

Almost equal in importance to the Yasna, and surpassing it in interest, is the book of the law, the Vendidad. As its name implies (*vi-daevo-datem*, the law against the Daevas), it warns the faithful of the ways in which one falls under the power of the Daevas, and teaches the corresponding means of removing their baneful presence. In other words, it treats of the causes of contamination and the laws of purification. Written in the form of a dialogue, it sets forth its various teachings as if they were the direct answers of Ormazd to the questions put by Zoroaster. These teachings, which are embodied in twenty-two Fargards or chapters, are not arranged in systematic form, nor do they all belong strictly to the subject-matter that is the object of the book to discuss. A few of them are altogether of a mythical character. Thus, chapter one tells how the sixteen lands created by Ormazd were successively blighted by the evil spirit of Ahriman. In chapter two we read of the wonderful enlargement of the earth by Yima, and of the way in which he saved specimens of every kind of life from the killing snow and cold that laid waste the fair face of the earth. How Zoroaster resisted the seductions and assaults of the Daevas and learned of Ormazd the rite of purification, as well as the fate of the soul after death, is told in the nineteenth chapter, while the twentieth and twenty-second give account of the divine origin of medicine and of the deliverance of Ormazd by the heavenly prayer Airyaman from the 99,999 diseases created by Ahriman.

The remaining chapters are mostly devoted to practical rules of conduct. Their lack of systematic arrangement and their many repetitions and variations of the same topics give them the appearance of a patchwork composed by different hands. The contents may

best be summarized by ignoring the order of chapters and by making a logical classification.

By far the most prominent subject in the legislation of the Vendidad is the proper treatment and disposal of the dead. This subject occupies most of chapters five to twelve, inclusive, as well as part of chapter three, and embraces the treatment of the corpse from the time of death to its exposure to the birds of prey,¹ the different lengths of mourning for the relatives,² the defilements from various kinds of contact with the dead and the modes of purification for persons and objects defiled,³ the prayers and spells necessary for their purifications,⁴ the crimes attaching to unauthorized attempts to purify,⁵ and to forbidden ways of dealing with corpses of men and dogs.⁶

The proper isolation and purification of mothers of still-born babes and of women in their monthly sickness are also set forth, the former in chapters 5 and 7,⁷ the latter in chapter 16.⁸ Sexual intercourse at such times is branded as criminal.⁹

The proper way to dispose of the detached portions of the hair and nails occupies a whole chapter;¹⁰ so also special prayers against demons of sickness for women in labor.¹¹

A number of chapters in whole or in part are devoted to teaching the sacred character of the animals especially effective against demons, namely, dogs, the hedgehog, the beaver, and the cock. Instructions are given on the care due these animals, and the penalties are laid down for the crime of killing or maltreating them.¹²

¹ Vend. 5 : 10-14 ; 6 : 44-51 ; 7 : 50-59 ; 8 : 4-13, 23-25.

² Ch. 12.

³ 5 : 1-7, 27-38 ; 6 : 1-9, 26-43 ; 7 : 1-22, 28-35, 45-49, 73-77 ; 8 : 1-3, 14-22, 35-107 ; 9 : 1-122.

⁴ Ch. 10, 11.

⁵ 9 : 47-57.

⁶ 3 : 8, 14-21, 36-42 ; 6 : 10-25 ; 7 : 20-27 ; 8 : 60-62 ; 8 : 23-25, 73.

⁷ 5 : 45-62 ; 7 : 60-72. 15, 3-6 and 19-51 ; 18 : 13-29.

⁸ 16 : 1-11.

⁹ 15 : 7-9 ; 16 : 13-18 ; 18 : 67-76.

¹⁰ Ch. 17.

¹¹ Ch. 21.

¹² Ch. 13, 14, 15, 3-6 and 19-51 ; 18 : 13-29.

Lastly, scattered through many chapters are condemnations of different sins against chastity,¹ religion,² and justice,³ as well as a number of topics having a less direct bearing on the main purpose of the *Vendidad*. Among these may be mentioned the enumeration of certain kinds of contracts,⁴ rules for the probation and recompense of physicians,⁵ and for the recompense of the cleansing priest,⁶ the praise of agriculture and cattle breeding,⁷ of prolific marriage, and the condemnation of asceticism.⁸

To appreciate properly the legislation of the *Vendidad* we must understand the religious mind in which it was conceived. It was a mind deeply influenced by the idea of dualism. To the Zoroastrian, creation was not all the work of Ormazd. Only what is good came from his hands. Evil, both physical and moral, was the counter-creation of the malignant Ahriman, who from the very beginning was led by his wicked nature to oppose every good work of Ormazd. Thus the universe was divided into two great armies at continual war with each other. Ranged on the side of Ahriman were the *Daevas* in the invisible order, and in the visible, winter, drought, disease and death, noxious plants and animals. Among the latter were serpents, lizards, toads and frogs, ants and flies, spiders and locusts.⁹ Hence to destroy them as far as possible was a work beneficial to the good creation, a work pleasing to Mazda.¹⁰ Penances for sins committed often included the destruction of a certain number of these *khrafstras*, as they were called.

It was against man, the noblest part of Ormazd's visible creation, that the powers of evil were especially directed. Ahriman could not create bad men as he created noxious animals and plants; but he could turn

¹ 8 : 26-32 ; 18 : 60-65.

² 4 : 46, 49-55 ; 15 : 2 ; 18 : 1-17, 30-59.

³ 4 : 1-43 ; 15 : 9-19.

⁴ 4 : 2-4, 44, 45.

⁵ Priests always went about armed with the *khrafstraghna*, an instrument for killing such animals. Cf. *Vend.* 18 : 2 ; 14 : 8, also Herodotus 1 : 140.

⁶ 7 : 36-44.

⁷ 9 : 37-44.

⁸ 3 : 2-6 and 23-33.

⁹ 3 : 33 ; 4 : 47-49.

¹⁰ 1 : 3, 5, 7, 14 ; 5, 6, and 18 : 73.

men into his agents and make them demons incarnate by persuading them to forsake the paths of truth and virtue. By deeds of wickedness men not only become demons; they cause other demons to multiply. Their very presence helped to stunt the growth of good animals and plants.¹ Hence the Daevas were ever trying to seduce the faithful into sin.

But even those who withstood the evil suggestions of Ahriman were not secure against his malignant influence. If he could not destroy their souls he could at least injure their bodies by inflicting them with different forms of disease, often resulting in death. He could do even worse than this. He could so defile the faithful worshipper of Mazda with the spirit of uncleanness and corruption as to blot out in him the glory of the good creation and cause him to blight every good thing with which he came in contact.

This contamination of the faithful was effected in several ways. One of the most common was the uncleanness produced in every woman by the monthly sickness, which was a creation of Ahriman's, and one of the most powerful sources of defilement.² A menstruous woman, being possessed by an unclean spirit, was unfit to come near any clean object until the demon was driven forth by special purifications. Hence the heinousness of sexual intercourse at such times.

Another form of this uncleanness, even more to be dreaded, was that arising from contact with the dead. Not all corpses were the sources of this kind of demoniacal possession, but only those of Mazda-worshippers and of dogs. The wicked followers of the Daevas were possessed in life by the unclean spirits, so that at death their corpses had no further attractions for them. But not having full power over the faithful, nor over dogs, whose very look was more than the strongest fiend could bear, they seized the opportunity at death to enter into their corpses and contaminate them. There was one demon whose special office it was to take possession of all such corpses. It was Nasu, Cor-

¹ 14: 5, 6; 18: 13; 7: 26, 27; 8: 31, 32; 18: 62-64.

² 1: 18, 19; 16: 11.

ruption. On the death of every faithful Mazdean this demon lodged itself in the remains. The way to expel the fiend was to bring a dog close to the corpse and let it fix its gaze intently upon it. Before this ceremony, called by modern Parsus the *Sag-did* (Dog-gaze), it was dangerous to be near the corpse, for at the slightest contact the foul Nasu would rush out from its lurking place into the body of the person and pollute him from head to foot.

A similar form of uncleanness, but of a degree even more dreadful, was that contracted by a woman bringing forth a still-born babe, for her contact with the Nasu-stricken corpse was more prolonged and more intimate.

Such persons, defiled with Nasu, like the woman defiled with the demon of menstrual uncleanness, being sources of contamination, had to be isolated till they were exorcised and purified. This rite of purification, which lasted nine nights, was rendered effective by spells and exorcisms, accompanied by the *Sag-did*, and by sprinklings of *gomez*¹ and of water. These sprinklings were made systematically on all parts of the body, from front to back, from right to left, beginning at the head and moving gradually downwards, till at last the Nasu was expelled from the left toe. It was supposed to depart toward the north in the form of a raging fly.*

A less degree of uncleanness was that contracted by touching a corpse already submitted to the *Sag-did*. This kind of uncleanness, which was always communicated to the carriers of the corpse, could be removed by a simple washing with *gomez* and water. The purification of vessels, clothing, and other articles contaminated was effected in the same manner.

Corpses of men and of dogs remained unclean till they were reduced to dry bones. And as the three elements (earth, water, and fire) were sacred parts of Ormazd's creation, it was a great crime to pollute these elements by burning or burying corpses or throwing

¹ Ox's urine.

* 8 : 35-72 ; 9 : 1-36. The North, the region of cold and darkness, was the home of the evil spirits. Cf. Vend. 8 : 16, 21, 71 ; 7 : 2 ; 19 : 1.

them in water. The only proper way to dispose of the dead was to allow them to be devoured by beasts or birds on the tops of hills, or, better still, within open towers called *Dakhmas*, built especially for this purpose. Some of the greatest crimes in the Zoroastrian code were offenses against this law of disposing of the dead. To carry a corpse alone was equally criminal, for in such instances the spirit of uncleanness took such forcible possession of the person that exorcism was utterly impossible. Death was the penalty for all such offenses.

As it was a good religious work to destroy as many *Khrafstras* as possible, so was it wrong to do anything that would lead even indirectly to their increase. Now it was thought that nail-parings and detached hairs when lodged in cracks in the floor and other lurking places bred various insects that ate up the corn in the fields and clothes in the wardrobe.¹ And so it was a religious duty not to throw them carelessly on the ground, but to bury them carefully in little holes, reciting over them certain formulas to keep off the *daevas*.

The multiplication of the *Khrafstras* could also be favored by maltreating the creatures of Ormazd that were thought to be especially adapted to their destruction. Foremost among these were the hedgehog, the beaver, and dogs of all kinds. To kill them or withhold them help and shelter when in distress was accounted a great crime. A preternatural power over demons was also ascribed to them. A good instance of this is the use they made of the dog to drive the *Nasu* from corpses and from persons affected with certain kinds of uncleanness. A similar power made the cock an object of religious reverence, for by his crowing he awakened the faithful at daybreak to their religious tasks and drove away *Bushyasta*, the long-fingered demon of sloth, who strove to keep the living world asleep and prevent the performance of good works.

From this summary it is plain that the religious code

¹ 17:2, 3.

of the Vendidad was a logical outgrowth of the principle of dualism. While marred with superstitious exaggerations, it taught a standard of moral conduct that justly excites admiration both for its completeness and its depth. It did not rest satisfied with external conduct; it insisted on the conformity of the will to the right order established by Ormazd.¹ The vices to which the people of the Orient were so prone, prostitution, abortion, unnatural lusts, were forbidden under the severest penalties. Fidelity to contracts, chastity, kindness to the poor, and industry were especially inculcated. It is the noblest code of morality to be found outside of the Bible.

THE YASHTS.

The word Yasht, like Yashna, means worship, sacrifice. It is applied to the collection of poetic and imaginative prayers, abounding in legendary lore, that were composed at a comparatively late period, in praise and adoration of Ormazd and his chief Yazads. Strictly speaking, they are but twenty in number. But in the same collection are included four other chapters of a didactic character.

The Yashts extol the power of their appropriate Yazads to bring blessings to the faithful and to smite Ahriman and his agents of wickedness. The advantage as well as the duty of offering them sacrifice is indirectly set forth by the enumeration of the legendary heroes who sacrificed to them in petition for certain boons and who received their request.² This lesson of religious worship is given even greater force by the example of Ormazd himself, who did not disdain to offer sacrifice to some of these deities,³ though they all owe their existence to his own creative power.

Of these Yashts the most poetic and interesting are the fifth, the eighth and the nineteenth. The fifth

¹ Cf. Vend. 18: 17.

² Cf. Yasht 5: 16-118; 9: 32; 10: 124; 15: 41; 16: 6-15; 17: 24-52.

³ Yasht 5: 16-19; 8: 25; 10: 124; 15: 2-4.

Yasht, in honor of the water-goddess Ardvi Sura Anahita, has the most complete account of the legendary heroes who offered sacrifice. It may have served as the model for the others. Another interesting feature of this Yasht is the detailed description of the dress and ornaments of the goddess.¹ The character of this description led de Harlez to the surmise that it was no mere creation of the author's fancy, but a description of a statue.² And as statues of Anahita were first introduced into Persia and Media by Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-361 B.C.), he concluded with a fair amount of likelihood that this Yasht was not composed before the fourth century B.C.

The eighth Yasht is the most poetic of all. It describes how the star-god Tishtrya manifests himself in the forms of a lovely youth, of a golden-horned bull, and of a beautiful white horse, promising an abundance of children, herds, and horses to those who gave him sacrifice. Then follows the description of the fierce battle which, as a white horse, he fights with the black horse-demon of drought, Apaosha. At first he is worsted after a three days' conflict, but strengthened by a sacrifice offered him by Mazda, he overcomes the demon, and plunging into the sea, churns the waters into a seething mass till the rain-clouds rise and bring refreshing moisture to the parched lands.

The nineteenth Yasht is chiefly occupied with the history of the kingly glory, a sort of brilliant nimbus created by Ormazd. A source of wisdom and a badge of authority as well, it abided with those destined to rule and teach the people. It was beyond reach of the unworthy, and passed from king to king when death or evil deed gave occasion for the change. The history of the transition of the kingly glory from Haoshyangha, the first king, through his long line of successors to Zoroaster and his royal protector Vishtaspa, embraces a number of interesting legends.

The last four chapters of the book of Yashts are

¹ Vv. 126-129.

² Avesta, p. cxciii. Darmesteter is of the same opinion. *Zend-Avesta* II., 364.

quite different from the rest in character and contents. Of these, by far the most striking is the one which describes the different fates of the good and the bad soul after death. For three nights the departed soul hovers about its lifeless body, enjoying unspeakable pleasure or suffering the utmost misery, according as its earthly life was good or wicked. At the dawn of the fourth day the faithful soul is met by his conscience in the form of a beautiful young maiden, who praises him for his good deeds on earth. Passing in three steps through the regions of good thought, good word and good action, he enters into the paradise of boundless light, the home of Ormazd, and feasts on the heavenly food prepared for the blessed. On the other hand, the wicked soul is conducted through the three regions of bad thought, bad word and bad action into the hell of boundless darkness, where Ahriman bids him eat of the noxious, foul-smelling food set apart for the wicked.

This same doctrine finds summary expression in the nineteenth chapter of the *Vendidad*.¹

There is another side of Avestan eschatology, which, as belonging to the later portions of the Avesta, and more particularly to the *Yashts*, may be fittingly considered here. It is the developed notion of the renovation of the world.

The *Gathas* themselves, as we have seen, speak of the day when the powers of evil shall be destroyed and the earth shall be renewed. But there is nothing positive in these passages to show that the idea of the resurrection was in the mind of the author. It is not till we come to the later parts of the Avesta that we find the notion of the resurrection plainly connected with that of the final renovation. Even then there are but three independent passages that refer to the resurrection in unmistakable terms.²

In the first of these, *Vend.* 18, 51, the idea of the resurrection is only indirectly expressed: "O Spenta

¹ *Vv.* 27-34.

² *Yasht* 13: 129, according to Darmesteter, but not to de Harlez, alludes to the resurrection.

Armaiti,¹ I give this man to thy keeping. Restore him on the day when the world shall be happily renewed."

The other two passages are direct and explicit. The one is Yasht 19 : 88, 89 and runs as follows : " We sacrifice to the awful Kingly Glory, created by Mazda, which will abide with the victorious Saoshyant and his friends, when he will make a new world, above the reach of sickness and death, decay and corruption . . . when the dead shall arise, when immortality shall come to the living, when the world shall be fittingly renewed."²

The other passage is found at the end of the short fragment numbered four in the Westergaard collection. It is a fragment of one of the lost nasks.³ Praising the power of one of the Gathic formulas, it declares, "Angro Mainyu" will hide himself beneath the earth; beneath the earth will the Daevas hide themselves. The dead will arise, life will return to the bodies, and they will be endowed with breath."

Closely associated with the resurrection is the notion of the Saoshyant or Savior. It is he who will break the power of Ahriman and the Daevas and will lead in the universal reign of happiness and peace. He is destined to be the direct son of Zoroaster, whose seed, miraculously preserved in the Lake Kasava and guarded by nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine Fravashis, will cause the Virgin Eretat-fedhri to conceive while bathing in its waters. It is only in the Pahlavi literature that a full and connected account of the Saoshyant is given, but the chief elements are to be found here and there in the later portions of the Avesta.⁴

THE KHORDA AVESTA.

The Khorda Avesta, a sort of Book of Common Prayer, is the least important and the least original

¹ Bountiful Wisdom, one of the Amshaspands and genius of the earth.

² This text is repeated in verses 11, 12, 19, 20, and 23, 24 of the same Yasht.

³ Zend-Avesta, III., 5.

⁴ Ahriman.

⁵ Vend. 19 : 5. Yasht 13 : 62, 142 ; 19 : 89-92.

part of the Avesta. The prayers, with but few exceptions, are made up of extracts from other books, especially from the Yasna and the Yashts, and thus betray their comparatively late origin. While omitting, then, a detailed examination of these prayers as unnecessary for our purpose, we may note, in passing, the liturgical object of the prayer called the Afringan Gahanbar, the Gahanbar Benediction. This rite was performed on each of the six Gahanbars, religious feasts of five days' length that were celebrated at different intervals in the year to commemorate the six great acts of creation. The order of these commemorations recalls strikingly the process of creation in the first chapter of Genesis, namely, the heavens, the waters, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man.¹

III.—RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN THE BIBLE AND THE AVESTA. DISCUSSION OF THEIR ALLEGED AVESTAN ORIGIN.

The points of resemblance between the Avesta and the Bible are numerous and striking.

1. Like Jehovah, Ormazd is the supreme and all-wise spirit, the Creator of the visible and invisible universe, the Sustainer of its wonderful order, the source of all holiness and prosperity. This noble conception is marred, however, by the dualistic idea, according to which his supremacy is limited by the evil spirit Ahriman and his hostile creations.

2. Ormazd, like Jehovah, is not alone in the government of the world. He has a host of ministering spirits, the Amshaspands, the Fravashis and the other Yazads, to execute his plans for the maintenance of due order in the physical world and for the preservation of his holy law in the hearts of men.

3. As the perfect order of Jehovah's creation is marred by the evil designs of Satan and his agents, so the creation of Ormazd is subject to the blighting influence of Ahriman and the Daevas. In both religions

¹ Zend-Avesta, I., p. 37. Harlez, Avesta, CLXV.

evil spirits possess human beings and produce different forms of disease.

4. Just as Jehovah sends His prophet Moses to teach His holy law to the chosen people, and thus establish His kingdom on earth, so in like manner Ormazd reveals his holy law to Zoroaster and makes him his divinely authorized prophet to teach that law to men. Both religions thus claim to be divinely revealed. Each has as its founder a great prophet and law-giver, and to make the analogy still more striking, Zoroaster, like Moses, is no mighty warrior or king, but a man of weakness.¹

5. The Old Testament enkindles hope in the Messiah, who is to be born of a virgin, and who will establish the eternal reign of peace. The Avesta teaches that in the fulness of time a virgin will conceive of Zoroaster's seed, miraculously preserved in the waters of Kasava, and will give birth to the Saoshyant, who will destroy the powers of evil and bring about the final renovation of the world.

6. In regard to the state of the soul after death, Mazdeism is even more explicit than early Judaism. One of the most striking things in the earliest books of the Old Testament is the absence of appeal to rewards and punishments after death as a sanction of conduct and as a ground of religious consolation. Throughout the whole Avesta the future life, with its rewards and punishments, is constantly kept in view.

7. Both religions include among their doctrines that of the resurrection. As we have already seen, it is open to question whether the earliest part of the Avesta, the Gathas, contains traces of this belief. It is only in the latest portions of the Avesta that the resurrection is referred to in unmistakable terms.

8. According to Genesis, God created the universe in six days. According to the Avesta, Ormazd created the world in six periods within the space of a year. The order of these creations, commemorated as we have seen by the six Afringan Gahanbars, very nearly

¹ Y. 29: 9.

coincides with that of Genesis, namely, heaven, waters, earth, plants, animals, man.¹

9. Corresponding with the deluge of Genesis is the winter of snow and cold in Vendidad.² Yima, the Mazdean Noah, saves life on the earth from utter destruction by building an underground garden, in which he puts choice specimens of men and of all kinds of animals and plants.

10. In the moral order the similarities are striking. In the Old Testament there are abundant instances to show that the law of holiness did not simply concern external conduct, but laid hold of the will and the heart.³ But it remained for the teaching of Christ to bring this feature out into striking prominence. Now, it is remarkable that the Avesta, even in its most ancient hymns, lays great stress on the internal element of the religious and moral life, and speaks constantly of good and bad thoughts, words and actions.⁴

The Mazdean, like the Jewish religion, teaches the dignity of labor, kindness to the poor, favors prolific marriage, denounces all forms of unchastity, especially those against nature.⁵

11. In both religions great stress is laid on the distinction between clean and unclean. The division of animal and plant creation into the creatures of Ormazd and those of Ahriman, finds its parallel in the Old Testament division of animals into clean and unclean.⁶ Both religions likewise teach that contact with the dead, childbirth, the menstrual flow in woman and the seminal flow in man are the sources of uncleanness.⁷ The unclean communicates his defilement to whatever person or thing he touches. Especially heinous is

¹ Zend-Avesta, I., 37.

² Ch. 2.

³ Cf. Gen. VI. 5. Deut. V. 21; XV. 9. Ezek. XXXVIII. 10. Prov. XII. 5; XV. 26; XXIV. 9.

⁴ In Ps. XVI. 3-5, this threefold distinction is recognized.

⁵ It is debated whether incestuous marriages of the first degree are favored by the Avesta proper, though it was practised at times in Persia. Cf. Darm. Zend-Avesta, I., p. 126 seq.; West S. B. E. XVIII. p. 389 seq.; Contra, de Harlez, Avesta, CLXXI.

⁶ Cf. Levit. XI.

⁷ Cf. Lev. XII. and XV.

sexual union with a woman in her monthly sickness.¹ In both religions there are laws of purification for persons and things defiled, an especial form of purification being required to remove uncleanness resulting from contact with the dead.²

12. One of the resemblances pointed out between the Avesta and the New Testament is the temptation of Zoroaster compared with that of our Blessed Savior. Ahriman, having tried in vain to kill Zoroaster, offers him the dominion of the earth if he will renounce the law of Mazda, but the saint repels the tempter and declares his readiness to accept death rather than prove false to his Maker.³

13. The other is the analogy pointed out by Bréal⁴ and others between the seven-headed dragon⁵ of the Apocalypse and the three-headed dragon of the Avesta, Azhi Dahaka. The identification of the apocalyptic dragon with "that old serpent who is called the devil and satan, who seduceth the whole world,"⁶ has also given rise to the surmise that the serpent of Genesis, too, has something in common with the Avestan dragon.

These are the main points of resemblance between the two religions, but to make the comparison complete we may note a number of analogies found in the Pahlavi literature, but derived doubtless from some of the lost nasks of the Avesta.

14. One of these analogies is the story of Mashya and Mashyoi, the first human pair, from which the human race is descended. Like Adam and Eve they sinned and fell under the power of the evil spirit.⁷

15. The Gaokerena, the White Haoma Tree, whose leaves, eaten by men at the renovation of the world, will give immortality, reminds one of the Tree of Life in Genesis. As the latter was guarded by cherubim, so the Gaokerena, growing in the water, is guarded by ten fish.⁸

¹ Lev. XV. 24; XX. 18.

² Cf. Num. XIX.

³ Vend. 19: 6, 7.

⁴ Mélanges, p. 126.

⁵ Ch. 12.

⁶ Apoc. 12: 9.

⁷ Bundahish, 15; S. B. E., V.

⁸ 52 seq.

⁹ Bund. 18: 62; S. B. E., V. 65.

16. The apportioning of the earth by the hero Thraetona to his three sons, Airya, Sairima, and Tura, recalls the division of the earth by Noah between his three sons, Sem, Cham, and Japhet.¹

17. Finally, the story of Joshua stopping the sun is paralleled by that of Hushedhar, one of the future sons of Zoroaster. He stops the sun for ten days and nights and thereby wins the nations to the religion of Mazda.²

Having thus reviewed the many points of resemblance between the Avesta and the Bible, it remains for us to examine critically the question whether the latter is under obligation to the former for the possession of any of these common features.

It is well at the very outset to bear in mind a truth that is very often lost sight of in the comparison of different forms of religion. That truth is, that similarities of belief in different religions do not necessarily imply identity of origin, or indebtedness of one of these religions to the other. Where no historical influence can be shown, it is extremely rash to attribute to an earlier religion the credit of originating certain features that it has in common with a later one. By forgetting this principle writers have often been led into egregious blunders. Note, for example, the attempt to derive the teachings of the New Testament in great measure from those of Buddhism on the ground of the striking resemblances existing between them. The attempt is now recognized by the best Oriental scholars as an utter failure. The words of Prof. Rhys Davids on the subject are worthy of citation. He declares: "Very little reliance can be placed without careful investigation on a resemblance, however close at first sight, between a passage in the Pâli Pitakas and a passage in the New Testament. It is true that many passages in these two literatures can be easily shown to have a similar tendency. But when some writers, on the basis of such similarities, proceed to agree that there must have been some historical con-

¹ Dinkart, VIII. ; Ch. 13 : 9 ; S. B. E., XXXVII., p. 28.

² Bahman Yasht, III., 45-48 ; S. B. E., V. 231, 232.

nexion between the two, and that the New Testament as the latter must be the borrower, I venture to think that they are wrong. There does not seem to me to be the slightest historical connexion between them. And whenever the resemblance is a real one . . . it is due not to any borrowing on the one side or on the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions under which the two movements grew."¹

Now it is just such a mistake as this that writers like Dr. Mills and Dr. Everett commit when they conclude, the one that the temptation of Zoroaster furnished the model for the story of Christ's temptation,² the other that the dragon of the Apocalypse is identical with Azhi Dahaka.³ The story of Christ's temptation has no more dependence on the temptation of Zoroaster than on that of Buddha.⁴ In like manner, the Apocalyptic dragon has as little connexion with Azhi Dahaka as with the Babylonian dragon Tiamat⁵ or the Egyptian serpent Apap.⁶

The great majority of the features that the Old Testament has in common with the Avesta are so plainly mentioned in the oldest parts of Sacred Scripture and are so closely knit with what is distinctive and essential in the Jewish religion as to leave no doubt of their independent origin. Such are the monotheism of the Old Testament, the revelation of the law through Moses, the promise of the Messiah, the moral teachings, the stories of the creation, of Adam and Eve, of the Tree of Life, of the Deluge, of the division of the earth among the three sons of Noah, of Joshua staying the sun.⁷ This much is admitted by all. But, as we have seen, many scholars declare that the Jewish conceptions of angels, demons, immortality, future re-

¹ S. B. E., XI., pp. 165, 166. Cf. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 126, n. 1; Kuenen, Hibbert Lectures, 1882, pp. 334-337.

² Nineteenth Century, 1894, pp. 52, 53.

³ New World, 1885, p. 15.

⁴ Cf. Oldenberg, l. c.

⁵ Lenormant, Hist. Ancienne de l'Orient, V., p. 243.

⁶ Tiele, Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum, p. 33; de la Saus-saye, Religionsgeschichte, I., p. 283.

⁷ See above Nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

wards and punishments, and the resurrection are the result of Persian influence. To them Dr. Mills adds the distinction of clean and unclean. Their argument is as follows :

Before the period of the Captivity there is no evidence that these common doctrines formed part of the Jewish belief. But during and after the Captivity they receive recognition in the Sacred Writings. Now, this was the very time when the Jews were brought into close contact with the Persians, whose religion, as set forth in the Avesta, taught these very doctrines in unmistakable terms. And so the only natural inference is that the Jewish religion is indebted for this part of its creed to the Persian.

The argument, at first sight, looks plausible. A close examination, however, shows it to be far from convincing.

In the first place it should be noted that some of these tenets, while presenting points of resemblance, are yet, in other respects, so utterly at variance as to make it doubtful whether the one could have been directly borrowed from the other. Take for instance the notion of unclean animals in Leviticus. How different it is, in spite of striking resemblances, from that of the Vendidad. In Leviticus, the unclean as well as the clean animals are recognized as God's creatures. The distinction of clean and unclean is based largely on physical differences. In the Vendidad, on the other hand, the unclean animals are all those created by the evil spirit. Nor is the application of the notion of clean and unclean the same in both legislations. Thus Leviticus forbids as unclean the eating of the camel¹ and the swine,² but allows the eating of locusts and grasshoppers.³ On the other hand, locusts and grasshoppers were an abomination to the Mazdean,⁴ while camels⁵ and swine⁶ were looked upon as clean.

If we compare the notion of Satan with that of Ahriman we find the one by no means identical with the other. Both agree in that they are hostile to God

¹ XI. 4.

² XI. 7.

³ XI. 21, 22.

⁴ See above.

⁵ Vend. 22 : 3.

⁶ Shayast la Shayast, II. 58, in S. B. E., V. 260.

and bent on seducing man and doing harm to God's creation. But here the parity ends. Satan is a fallen creature of God, destined to live forever, but shorn at last of his power to do evil. Ahriman is a spirit evil by nature, uncreated like Ormazd himself, but destined to final destruction. Satan's power for evil is only what God chooses to allow him. Ahriman's is independent of Ormazd and is more dreadful. Satan can only mar what God has created. Ahriman can do more. He can create demons, noxious animals and plants. So different, in short, is the notion of Satan from that of Ahriman that Ewald, who attributes the development of Jewish doctrine partly to Zoroastrian influence, declares of Satan: "But the whole conception is Hebrew: to trace it to Persian sources is groundless and unhistorical."¹

But the theory under review has far greater difficulties than these to contend with. It is plain that if it is to make good its claims to trustworthiness, it must establish beyond doubt two very important points. It must demonstrate, first, that the Persians, in the period of contact with the Jews, held the religious tenets which they are supposed to have contributed to the theology of the Old Testament; secondly, that no trace of these doctrines can be found in the books of the Old Testament written before this period of contact.

Now, it is significant that neither of these points is capable of rigorous proof; nay, the evidence against the second point is so strong as to render the theory in the highest degree improbable.

First of all, the important question presents itself, when did the Jews, who formed the Old Testament, come into close contact with the Persians? This is a question which is often overlooked, and yet its solution is of the greatest value in the present discussion. Thus it is often taken for granted that the Jews were brought under Persian influence during the Captivity. We have already quoted Dr. Everett, who considers it

¹ Old and New Testament Theology, p. 72.

a generally admitted truth that the Jews of the Captivity received their notion of Satan from the Parsees. But it is plain that during the Captivity the Jews were exposed to Babylonian, not to Persian, influences. During this entire period the relations between these two monarchies were strained. It was not till Cyrus overthrew Babylon in 539 B.C. that intimate relations between the Persians and the Jews of Babylon were possible, and even then we must allow for a certain length of time before the religion of the Persians could begin to exert its influence on that of the Jews. It is thus out of the question to speak of Persian influence before the end of the Captivity, 536 B.C., nor is it at all likely that such influence could have made itself felt at so early a date. But for the sake of argument, we may assume that the period of Persian influence began at the close of the Babylonian captivity.

Now, what sort of religious influence could the Persians of that period have exerted on the Jews? Did they themselves include in their religious belief those doctrines which the Jews are declared to have borrowed from them? This capital question does not admit of a positive answer. Those who speak so confidently of the indebtedness of the Old Testament to Persian theology generally take it for granted that from the time of Cyrus onward the religion of Persia was identical with the religion of the Avesta. But this very point has never yet been demonstrated. On the contrary, it has been seriously called in question by scholars of great ability. Professor Sayce¹ and Halévy² have both put forth the thesis that Cyrus was no Mazda-worshipper at all, for Babylonian cylinders have been found in which he is put on record as a worshipper of Babylonian gods.³ To this conclusion Professor Cheyne has also given full assent, and says: "We now know that the Aryan and Zoroastrian element did not obtain supremacy in the Achæmenian

¹ Cf. *Academy*, Oct. 16, 1880, pp. 276, 277.

² *Revue des études juives*, No. 1, pp. 41-63.

³ Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, II., pp. 289-291, also I., pp. 305, 306; de Harlez, *Avesta*, CCXIII.

empire till the accession of Darius, too late to exercise any marked influence on Jewish modes of thought."

But even if we admit with Kuenen¹ and others that Cyrus, like Darius, was a Mazda-worshipper, it by no means follows that the Achæmenian kings were Zoroastrians.² The original home of the Avesta is still a matter of dispute among Iranian scholars. Some place it in Media, others in Bactria or some other eastern province of Iran.³ But one thing is certain, it did not take form in Persia. Neither the language of the Gathas nor that of the later Avesta can be classed with the Persian dialects.

The religion of the Avesta was thus an importation into Persia, doubtless insignificant at first, but rising gradually in importance till it finally overshadowed the old belief and became itself the religion of state. When this important movement was accomplished is still a problem for Iranian scholars. But according to many, it did not take place before the time of Artaxerxes. Inscriptions of this king and of his predecessors, Xerxes and Darius, are still extant on the royal tombs at Nackhs-i-Rustem and on the rocks of Alvand, Behistun, and on the ruins of Persepolis, Murghab, Khorkor and Susa.⁴ While professing to be faithful followers of Auramazda, they make no mention of the Amshaspands or of Ahriman, and at the same time provide for their burial in tombs, a hideous abomination for the Zoroastrian. In the face of such evidence de Harlez, and even Mills, conclude that the state of religion of Persia during this period could not have been that of the Avesta. In his work on the Avesta⁵ de Harlez submits this question to a long and detailed examination, and sums up the results of his study as follows: "The conclusion which plainly results from this long investigation is that in all the texts of an-

¹ Prophecies of Isaiah, II., p. 294.

² Hibbert Lectures, 1882, p. 320.

³ This is patent in the case of Cyrus. The worship of strange gods was an abomination to the Zoroastrian.

⁴ Cf. de la Saussaye, II., pp. 17, 18.

⁵ Mills, *New World*, 1895, p. 47; Ragozin, *Media*, pp. 282, 369.

⁶ Pp. ix.-xviii., cexi.-ccxiii.

tiquity touching on the religious belief and practices of the Persians, one may look in vain for a word pointing to the influence of the Avesta within the empire of the Achæmenidae. On the contrary, everything goes to show that its prescriptions were entirely unknown, that the people were ignorant of its rites and ceremonies. The religion of ancient Persia was Iranian, but not Avestan."¹

Dr. Mills, who treats the subject more succinctly in his introduction to the Gathas,² thinks the religion of the inscriptions may have been a form of Mazda-worship similar to that of the Gathas, "but that it was the later and fully developed Zarathushtrianism, provided with all the regulations of the Vendidad, seems out of the question."³ His embarrassment in accounting for the unavestan language and practices of Darius reveals itself, when he says, "He was either a heretical schismatic departing from a sacred precept, or he was following the creed of his fathers, a Mazda-worshipper, but not of Zarathushtra's order, or if a Zarathushtrian, then a partial inheritor of Zarathushtra's religion at an undeveloped stage, when burial was not as yet forbidden by it; and at the same time he neglected also prominent doctrines of the Gathas."⁴ His final conclusion seems to be that Darius and his chieftains adhered to a more ancient and simple form of Mazdaism, while the masses were captivated by the novelties of the later Zoroastrianism.⁵ It is plain to see that his statement in regard to the religion of the masses is a supposition on his part. He does not support it by a single proof. On the other hand, the inscription of Darius on the rock of Behistun bears witness to the fact that before as well as after the short usurpation of the throne by the Magian Gomates, the religion professed by Darius was the widespread religion of state. In this inscription, after narrating how with Auramazda's help he overthrew the Magian Gomates, Darius proceeds: "The empire that had been wrested from our race I recovered, I restored to its place, as in the days

¹ P. ccxiii.² S. B. E., xxxi., p. xxx.-xxxii.³ P. xxx.⁴ P. xxxi.⁵ P. xxxii.

of old, so I did. The temples which Gaumata the Magian had destroyed I rebuilt. I restored to the state the sacred chants and worship and entrusted them to the families which had been deprived of them by Gaumata the Magian."

We see then, how far from the certainty of an established truth is the hypothesis that the religion of the Avesta prevailed in Persia under Cyrus and his immediate successors. It is evident that there is need of a more solid basis before one can proceed with any degree of trustworthiness to point to the teachings of the Avesta as the sources of Jewish theology.

Another important consideration, often overlooked, is this: It is now generally admitted that while the Gathas may date from the eighth century, or, according to some, from a much greater antiquity, the rest of the Avesta is comparatively recent. Even Geldner, who gives a high antiquity to the Gathas, placing them in the fourteenth century B.C., admits that the latest parts of the Avesta may be no earlier than the fourth century B.C.,¹ and de Harlez gives reasons to show that much of the later Avesta was written after the fifth or fourth century B.C.² Spiegel held that the whole Avesta was not written before Alexander the Great. And Mills himself says of the Avesta, exclusive of the Gathas: "Placing, then, the oldest portions of the later Avesta somewhat earlier than Darius, we are obliged to extend the period during which its several parts were composed, so far as perhaps to the third or fourth century before Christ, the half-spurious matter contained in them being regarded as indefinitely later."³ Now, remembering that the home of the Avesta was not Persia, but some other province of Iran, we have grave reasons to suspect that the writings of the later Avesta could have reached Persia in time to exercise any important influence on the formation of Jewish theology.

¹ Cf. Kuenen, *National and Universal Religion*, p. 320; Ragozin, *Media*, p. 366.

² Cf. *Ency. Brit.* 9th ed., vol. XVIII., p. 654.

³ *Avesta*, p. xciii.

⁴ *S. B. E.*, XXI., p. xxxvii.

This consideration tells with especial force against the assertion that the Jews took their belief in the resurrection from the Avesta. As we have already seen, there are but three reliable testimonies in the Avesta to the belief in the resurrection, and they all belong to the later development of Zoroastrianism. The least explicit of these, Vendidad 18 : 51, occurs in a section which is unique in character and which, from its total lack of connection with what precedes, may be safely set down as an interpolation. At any rate, the nature of its contents points to an origin, at the very least, as late as that of the first chapter of the Vendidad, which Mills places at about 500 B.C.¹

It is to the other two testimonies, Yasht 19 : 88, 89, and fragment IV., that Mills appeals to show that the Bible is indebted to the Avesta for the doctrine of the resurrection. But it is to be observed that the dates he assigns to these two texts, 500 B.C. and 300 B.C. respectively,² are, like that of Vendidad, 18 : 51, quite inadequate to prove the point at issue, for long before Avestan texts composed in 500 B.C. could become familiar to the Persians and through them to the Jews, the notion of the resurrection was plainly set forth in the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah.

Having thus seen that solid evidence is lacking to show that the Jews under Cyrus and his immediate successors were brought into acquaintance with the teachings of the Avesta, nay, that the very existence of the doctrine of the resurrection in the Avesta of that period is beyond the reach of demonstration, let us turn to the early writings of the Old Testament and test the truth of the assertion that before contact with the Persians under Cyrus, the Jews were ignorant of the distinction of clean and unclean, of angels, of demons, of the doctrines of immortality, the resurrection and retribution after death.

As has already been pointed out, the time of contact cannot be put earlier than the close of the Captivity,

¹ Nineteenth Cent., 1894, p. 50.

² Ibid., p. 56 ; de Harlez claims that Yasht 19 belongs to the Avestan literature of most recent date. Avesta, p. cxlviii.

536 B.C. Hence the writers belonging to the period of the Captivity may be used as witnesses no less than those of an earlier age. For the sake of argument, we shall confine ourselves to those parts of Scripture which in the eyes of all but the most radical scholars have a solid claim to an antiquity greater than 536 B.C.

First, it is undeniable that the recognition of clean and unclean things existed among the Jews long before their contact with the Persians. For even those who take Leviticus 11-15 to be part of the Priests' Code admit that these chapters embody pre-exilic usage.¹ The distinction of clean and unclean is found in the fourteenth chapter of Deut., a book recognized by radical scholars to be not later than 621 B.C.² Allusion is made to it in the book of Judges,³ when the mother of Samson is warned not to "eat any unclean thing."

If the early distinction of clean and unclean in the Old Testament admits of easy proof, still more patent is the early Jewish belief in angels. Indeed, so abundant are the references to angels in the most ancient parts of the Old Testament, that it is all but incredible that any one should ascribe the Jewish angelology to the Avesta. The very notion of guardian angels, prevalent in the rabbinical age and derived by some with the utmost assurance from the Avestan Fravashis, is implied in the numerous Old Testament accounts of angels providing for the safety and welfare of individuals. It is two angels who protect Lot and his family and save them from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.⁴ It is an angel of the Lord who comforts Hagar on both occasions of her distress.⁵ It was an angel of the Lord who stayed Abraham's hand as it was uplifted to sacrifice his son.⁶ It was an angel of the Lord that appeared to Gideon and promised assistance to smite the Midianites.⁷ It was an angel that fed

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, p. 135. In his *Religion of Israel*, Kuenen says: "The precepts concerning clean and unclean which occupy so large a space in it (*i.e.*, the redaction of Esdras) are of Israelitish origin." Vol. III., p. 36, London, 1895.

² Driver, p. 81.

³ XIII., 4, 7.

⁴ Gen. XVIII.

⁵ Gen. XVI. 9; XXI. 17.

⁶ Gen. XXII. 11-15.

⁷ Judges VI. 11-23.

Elias in the wilderness.¹ The 90th Psalm does but sum up the protective ministration of the angels as exemplified in these numerous texts, when it declares: "For he hath given His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways; in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone."²

It is plain from this mass of evidence, which is far from exhaustive, that the conception of angels and of guardian-spirits as well was not foreign to the early developments of Hebrew doctrine. To seek the origin of guardian angels in the fantastic Fravashis of the Avesta is utterly uncalled for.

But, it is urged, is not the notion of the "seven spirits" who "stand before the throne" who are "sent forth into all the earth" taken from that of the "seven Amshaspands" mentioned in the Yasht devoted to the Fravashis? "We sacrifice to the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the just; to those of the Amesha Spentas, the sovereign beings with benign eye—who have, all seven, the same thought, all seven, the same word, all seven, the same action."³ As de Harlez has shown,⁴ this analogy is by no means exact. For the Amshaspands, in the ordinary sense, are but six. It is only by reckoning Ormazd himself among them that they can be called seven. If, in like manner, we were to include God among the spirits that stand before the throne we should have eight, not seven. It is out of the question then to see in the notion of the seven spirits a result of Avestan influence. Much more natural would it be to explain this unexpected and awkward combination of Ormazd and his six Amshaspands as an unsuccessful attempt to imitate the Jewish conception of the seven spirits. The fact that it finds expression but twice in the whole Avesta, and that too in the very latest parts, seems to prove this assumption.

¹ III. Kings XIX. 4-7.

² Vv. 11, 12. Driver says this psalm "may be presumed to be pre-exilic (Introd., p. 363); though Cheyne on very insufficient grounds thinks it may belong to the time of Esdras (Bampt. Lect., p. 73).

³ Tobias XII. 15.

⁴ Apoc. V. 6.

⁵ Yasht 13: 82; 19: 15, 16.

⁶ Rev. Biblique, Apr. 1896, p. 169.

The evidence for early Jewish belief in the evil spirit, in demoniacal possession and demoniacal causes of disease, while not so abundant as the evidence for belief in angels, is still ample enough to show that the Jews were familiar with these notions long before the close of the Captivity, that is, before the time of contact with the Persians.

The story of the temptation in the third chapter of Genesis involves the notion of the evil spirit seducing Eve under the form of a serpent. But since the cogency of this inference is called in question by some, we can appeal to other ancient passages where the belief in evil spirits is brought plainly into view. Thus in the Song of Moses the unfaithful Israelites are said to have sacrificed to devils, and not to God.¹ The first book of Kings relates how Saul was afflicted with an evil spirit.² But most striking of all is the figure of Satan in the book of Job.³ Now, as the book of Job, even in the opinion of radical scholars like Kuenen, Davidson and Cheyne,⁴ belongs to the period of the Captivity, it is itself a sufficient refutation of the assertion that the Jews were ignorant of the devil until they came in contact with the Persians. It does but bear out the statement, already quoted, of the acute scholar Ewald: "The whole conception (of Satan) is Hebrew; to trace it to Persian sources is groundless and unhistorical."

Nor need we look to Persian or Avestan theology for the origin of the Jewish belief in demoniacal disease and possession. The power of the devil to take possession of men and to inflict disease is clearly implied in the story of Saul's affliction by the evil spirit and in that of Job's disease produced by Satan.

The presence of an Avestan demon in the book of Tobias⁵ is often appealed to as proof that the Jewish

¹ Deut. XXXII. 17. Cf. Lev. XVII. 7.

² I. Kings XVI. 14-23.

³ I. 10-12; II. 7. Cf. Driver, pp. 405-408.

⁴ Cheyne, Bamp. Lect., p. 271, says: "Nor can it be shown that that poetical masterpiece of the Exile, the Book of Job, presents any undoubted Iranian affinities. If anything there has been borrowed, it has been so Hebraized as to be undistinguishable from genuine Hebrew material."

⁵ Tobias III. 8.

notion of the devil was borrowed from the Persians. With much better show of reason might one argue that the Babylonian night hag, Lilith,¹ which figured so prominently in rabbinical demon-lore, and which receives mention in Scripture² long before the Asmodeus of Tobias, points to the religion of Babylon as the source of Jewish belief in the devil.

The attempt of some Catholic apologists to disprove all connection between Asmodeus and Aeshma Daeva of the Avesta on the ground that the former is a demon of impurity while the latter is a demon of violence, does not commend itself to sound judgment.³ For Asmodeus nowhere appears in Tobias as tempting to impurity, but rather as killing the bridegrooms as soon as they have exposed themselves to his power through unrestrained desire. Hence the name Aeshma Daeva, Asmodeus, the Violent Demon, is peculiarly suited to his character. It is easy to suppose that the writer of Tobias, wishing to give a name to the demon he put in his story, took one ready to hand, as supplied by the religion of the Avesta, just as the Jews of a later period called Satan Beelzebub, after the god of Accaron.⁴ It is plain that such an action does but presuppose the belief of the writer in the devil. To hold that the notion of the devil first came into Jewish theology with the book of Tobias is an anachronism.

We have thus found evidence enough in the early Scriptures to show beyond reasonable doubt that before contact with the Persians the Jews recognized the distinction of clean and unclean, and believed in the existence of good and bad spirits. It remains to be seen if they were likewise acquainted with the doctrines concerning the life after death.

It must be confessed that the early books of the Old Testament are singularly deficient in reference to the

¹ Cf. Lenormant, *Hist. de l'Orient*, V., p. 276.

² Isaiah XXXIV. 14. Cf. Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, I., 197.

³ Cf. *Revue des Religions*, 1889, p. 202. Curious to note, Max Müller, following Bréal (*Mélanges*, pp. 123, 124), makes the opposite mistake of taking Aeshma Daeva to be the demon of concupiscence. "Chips from a German Workshop," I., p. 145.

⁴ IV. Kings I. 2.

future life. One would naturally expect that the chosen people, so weak in faith and so prone to sin, would have had repeatedly and solemnly impressed upon them the powerful sanction of future rewards and punishments. And yet, in the very books which treat of the laws of moral and religious conduct, prosperity and misfortune in the present life are the only motives to which appeal is made. In those early parts of Scripture that deal with the trials of the just and the prosperity of the wicked, the promise of the resurrection and of future rewards would have come most suitably as a strength and consolation. The fact, then, that clear and explicit mention of these doctrines is not made in the earlier parts of the Old Testament is taken by many as safe evidence that they did not, from the first, form part of the popular belief. Revealed at first vaguely to the minds of the chosen few, they gradually assumed more definite shape, till, at length, they burst into clear view and became the common possession of the people. They were revealed only in germ; their fulness of import was recognized only after a long period of development.

Still there is evidence in the more ancient parts of the Old Testament to show that the notion of immortality was not altogether absent from the minds of the early Jews. In the first place their belief in the existence of good and bad spirits is scarcely conceivable without a corresponding belief in the persistence of the soul after death. Again, the notion of immortality is implied in the assumption of Enoch¹ and of Elias.² The prohibition against seeking information from the dead,³ as well as the story of Saul consulting the spirit of Samuel,⁴ shows that in the minds of the ancient Israelites all did not end with death. The yearning for the future beatific life finds expression in a number of the Psalms,⁵ and notably in the book of Job,⁶ which, as we have seen, can solidly claim an antiquity as great

¹ Gen. V. 24.

² IV. Kings II. 11.

³ Deut. XVIII. 10.

⁴ I Kings XXVIII. 7-20.

⁵ Ps. 15 : 10, 11 ; 16 : 15 ; 22 : 4 ; 48 : 16. Cf. Cheyne, Bamp. Lect., p. 389, seq.

⁶ XIX. 25, 26. Cf. Driver, p. 394.

as the time of the Captivity. And in the remarkable words of Osee,¹ the prophet of tottering Israel, "For he hath taken us and he will heal us; he will strike and he will cure us. He will revive us after two days. On the third day he will raise us up and we shall live in his sight," as well as in the prophet Ezekiel's² famous vision of the revived bones, we have allegorical language that naturally implies the conscious idea of the resurrection, the idea which culminates in the beautiful promise in the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah: "Thy dead men shall live; my slain shall rise again. Awake and give praise, ye that dwell in the dust."³ Even if, for the sake of argument, we grant the contention of scholars like Delitzsch, Dillmann, Driver and Cheyne, that this prophecy belongs to the early post-exilic period,⁴ it surely antedates the earliest positive proof of the resurrection idea in the Avesta.⁵

The limits of this essay do not allow a discussion of the view supported by eminent scholars, as Spiegel, Justi, de Harlez, Halévy, and others, that the Gathas were composed only in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and that their religious conceptions are in part the product of Semitic influence exercised by the Israelite captives whom Sargon transported into Media after the fall of Samaria."⁶ Neither is there room to examine the startling theory put forth by Darmesteter that the Gathas cannot claim an antiquity greater than the first century of our era, and that the Avestan religion, while remotely ancient in its main features, shows traces of Jewish, no less than Brahmanic, Buddhist, and Greek influences.⁷

Whether such views be accepted or not, they show, at all events, that Iranian scholars are by no means

¹ VI. 2.

² XXXVII. 1-10.

³ Cheyne says of this text: "The vague and incidental character of the reference in this passage is itself a warrant of its underived origin." *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, I., 157.

⁴ Max Müller makes a partial concession to this theory when he says that the monotheism of the Avesta may have come from Jewish sources. Cf. *Gifford Lectures*, 1889, pp. 48, 49.

⁵ *Zend-Avesta*, III., pp. xx-c.

⁶ Verse 19.

⁷ Cf. Driver, *Introd.*, p. 210.

unanimous on the question of the relations of the Old Testament with the Avesta.

The argument of this essay may be summed up as follows: If the Bible is indebted to the Avesta for its teachings concerning ceremonial purity, angels, demons, and the future life, the earliest date to which we can assign such an influence is the period immediately following the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, when for the first time the Jews were brought into close contact with the Persians. But far from being demonstrated, it is still a matter of grave doubt whether the Persians of that period professed the religion of the Avesta. Moreover, there is sufficient evidence in the exilic and pre-exilic Scriptures to show that the doctrines in question, while lacking the fulness of import of later times, were already known to the Jews before Persian, still less, Avestan influences were possible. The natural conclusion is that the attempt to trace these important features of biblical theology to the Avesta as their origin, must be set down as a failure.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLETT, LIBRARIAN OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

A HISTORY OF AURICULAR CONFESSION AND INDULGENCES IN THE LATIN CHURCH. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. Vols. I. and II., CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION; Vol. III., INDULGENCES. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1896. Pp. xii., 523; viii., 514; viii., 629. \$9.00.

THE subjects discussed in this work are of far more than merely theological concern; they touch very closely the daily lives of a large percentage of the population of the Western world, and they are fraught with a genuine human interest. To understand better

the secret of the marvellous control which the Roman Catholic Church wields and has wielded for centuries over the minds and consciences of men is no small thing, and these volumes are eminently calculated to contribute to such understanding. It was evidently with this in view that the author undertook the task of writing a history of confession and indulgences, and yet the work is a history, not a tract, and its principle and method are primarily scientific, not practical. The historical spirit and temper are admirably preserved throughout, and the objectivity of the treatment is all that could be desired; while the freedom from polemic is remarkable considering the nature of the subjects discussed. The author allows himself comparatively little comment, but the facts are presented clearly and candidly, and the reader is permitted to draw his own conclusions.

The theme of the work is a large one, and it deserves the whole of the three ample volumes devoted to it. The first two treat of confession and absolution, the third of indulgences. Only the first two lie before us, and it is of them alone that we shall speak.

The most impressive fact about the work is the immense learning displayed in it. Not that the author makes any unnecessary or offensive display of erudition, but that he shows himself throughout familiarly acquainted with a field of almost limitless extent. Not simply from the well-known and frequently quoted writings of mediæval and modern theologians, but from the most out-of-the-way and unfamiliar sources he draws his materials; and it is evident, upon comparing his work with others upon the same subject, that many of his sources are thus utilized for the first time. The value of the work in this respect can hardly be overestimated. It is no mere reproduction of the views of others and no mere interpretation of facts already presented by them. It is a new history based upon an independent study of an immense mass of material, much of which is entirely fresh. Those acquainted with other writings of the same author have learned to expect just this from him. Very few Protestant schol-

ars on either side of the Atlantic are as thoroughly conversant with the Roman Catholic Church of past centuries as he ; and in this, as in all his works, his knowledge has been put to good use.

Another notable feature of the work is the fulness and exhaustiveness with which the various subdivisions of the main subject are discussed and elucidated. In its study of details the work is a marvel of thoroughness, and the skill with which the author succeeds in making even such details interesting is scarcely less noticeable. The work is fullest and most satisfactory where it deals with the later mediæval and modern development. Evidently it is in that part of the field that the author is most at home, and in it his chief interest centres, because he finds there the explanation of all the complicated features of the existing system. It was evidently with a desire to account for that system in all its various ramifications that he undertook his investigations. Apparently he began with the present and worked backward until he had satisfied himself as to the origin and development of each particular feature. But this method—assuming that our deduction is correct—has resulted in certain defects, which mar the value of the work in some important respects. The chapters in which the author treats of primitive Christianity and the conditions that prevailed before the beginning of the Middle Ages, are the least satisfactory of all. He seems to have studied the early centuries with the later constantly in mind and chiefly for the purpose of noting the differences between the two periods. It is easy to show in this way that the various features of the modern system are of much later growth ; but it is also easy to miss entirely the significance of the earlier centuries. Measured by the existing scheme, they seem to contain little or nothing of that which is essential and characteristic in it ; but when they are studied in their totality and the development of thought and life is followed up from the very beginning and interpreted in its own light, it is seen that they contain the germs of practically all that has grown up since. The cardinal defect of the work, as it seems to

us, lies just here : that the author, in his interest in the existing system in all its details, has failed to see that the system itself is much older than any of those details, and that its origin is not discovered when they are traced back to their several starting points. The vital and really fundamental question is not as to the origin and development of this or that feature, but as to the origin and development of the principle which underlies the system as a whole. It is because he thinks rather of the system in its existing form than of the principle underlying it that the author dates the beginning of the development so late and draws so sharp a line of demarcation between the ancient and the mediæval Church. As a matter of fact, the development began far back in the second century, and in its exercise of discipline the Church of the third century acted upon the same fundamental principles as the Church of the thirteenth and the nineteenth. It was in the second and third centuries that the primitive conception of the Church gave way to a new conception, which has controlled and alone explains all the subsequent development. The way in which the later conception grew out of the earlier, and gathered it up into itself, and the revolution which the change effected in the government, discipline, and sacramental system of the Church are of fundamental importance for an understanding of the subject with which these volumes deal, and yet they are passed over in silence. We miss also a recognition of the epochal significance of the edict of Calixtus (Bishop of Rome from 217-222) in which the changed conception of the Church clearly appears, and in which, moreover, the absolute power of the bishop in the matter of discipline and reconciliation is distinctly stated. In that edict are really to be found the germs of the entire penitential system of the Roman Catholic Church from that day to this, and it is unfortunate that it should not have been discussed in a work like the present. The author tells us in his preface that he has "abstained from consulting Protestant writers," and has confined himself "exclusively to the original sources and to Catholic authorities." Such a

course has undoubtedly aided him in his effort to avoid partisanship; but his picture at least of the early days of the Church would have been more accurate and adequate had he consulted the most recent works upon the various phases of the subject which have been written by Protestant scholars of Germany. Recent investigations have shown that many of the principles and practices which were formerly supposed to have arisen in the early Middle Ages are in reality much older, and that already before the middle of the third century the foundations of the subsequent development were largely complete all along the line.

We miss again in the present work a recognition of the influence which Augustine's doctrine of grace had upon the development of the sacramental system of the Middle Ages, and the omission is all the more noticeable because Augustine's doctrine of predestination is discussed somewhat at length and its relation to the sacrament of penance is considered. It is a mistake to suppose that the Church of the Middle Ages was wholly false to Augustine and was repudiating his principles tacitly if not avowedly. As a matter of fact, though the legitimate evangelical consequences of his doctrine of the free grace of God found almost no acceptance until the Protestant Reformation, his strenuous emphasis upon the absolute necessity of divine grace—which was the fundamental thing with him—had much to do with the sway of the sacraments in the Western Church after his day, and to overlook the fact is to leave the subsequent development only partially accounted for.

But though we thus miss a recognition of certain vital and controlling factors in the history, and though we fail to find as profound and thoroughgoing a study of the principles underlying the sacrament of penance as we should like to see, as an account of the existing system and of the development of its several features, the work leaves little to be desired. The description of the way in which the change from public to private and from enforced to voluntary confession took place is very clear and in the main accurate, while the dis-

cussion of the later development of absolution (not of the earlier, where a common but erroneous distinction is drawn between absolution and reconciliation) and of satisfaction, of the seal of confession, of the classification of sins, of probabilism and casuistry, is full and admirable.

It is not too much to say that no student of church history, least of all a student of the Roman Catholic Church and system, can afford to let these important volumes go unread. We have nothing else in English which takes their place, and nothing in any language which makes them superfluous.

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BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTES.

"We hope . . . to show that evolution is not a conception in extinction of reason, nor yet a movement in overthrow of faith." "Science presents the facts of the world; philosophy interprets them in terms of reason; and religion in terms of spiritual life. Each, in its relation to the other, is profoundly modified by the doctrine of evolution; and the truths of each are more clearly seen and enforced in connection with this conception." These sentences give as completely as any, perhaps, the thought and purpose at the basis of Professor John Bascom's latest volume on *Evolution and Religion*, whose main thesis is expressed thus: "faith as a part of a complete cosmic system." The book is symptomatic of a wonderful change which has come over the general way of regarding the world and its processes within recent years. The number of those who regard the theory "as something which they would gladly escape," is growing smaller, and the laying of the spectre is due mainly to the work of men like Professor Bascom. We can only indicate the general scope of his most recent volume by quoting the subjects of which it treats: Evolution as a conception; Evolution as giving unity to the field of knowledge and action; Evolution in its present spiritual phases; and

Evolution in the proofs it offers to spiritual beliefs. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Another book with a somewhat similar fundamental thesis is by Rev. Charles M. Tyler, D.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics in Cornell University. It is called *Bases of Religious Belief, Historic and Ideal*, and is designated as "an outline of religious study." The author entertains the hope that the volume may be of service to college students, and perhaps to preachers. It is based on an acceptance of the "Divine law of development," and draws much of its force from comparative religion. The volume is separated into two parts; the first of which is divided thus: Definition of Religion; Prehistoric and historic data, and their bearing upon the study of religion; Was the beginning of human history a moral catastrophe?; Psychological genesis of religion. Part two discusses the metaphysical, ethical, æsthetic and ultimate grounds of religious belief, and also the subject of "Spiritual love an ideal to be realized." The ultimate ground of belief is "God revealed in human progress." The book labors under the disadvantage of being in some sense a power, but it is one of the attempts of modern thought to adjust itself to a new environment. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.)

It will doubtless be a surprise to some readers to learn of the extent and size to which a comparatively recent missionary agency has grown. We refer to the Students' Young Men's Christian Associations which have been organized on foreign mission territory. One of the first accounts of the work of these associations, and also of their extent, is given by Mr. John R. Mott in a little volume called *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*. In this volume he gives an outline of a trip around the world, in the course of which he visited the principal educational institutions on the globe. The narrative might be indefinitely extended, and in reading the book one wishes that more of detail had

been presented, but enough is said to indicate that a mighty agency has been put into operation. The project of extending Christianity in the educational centres is one worthy of all support, a truth that might be illustrated and enforced in a variety of ways. A perusal of this little volume will serve to impress and strengthen this conviction. (New York and Chicago : Revell Co. \$1.00.)

"Church Papers" No. 1 and No. 2 have been issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication (Philadelphia). Their subjects are quite consonant with the general title, the first being by Professor George P. Fisher of Yale, on *The Validity of Non-Prelatical Ordination*, and the second, on *The Anglican View of the Church*, by Dr. J. Oswald Dykes, Principal of the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church of England. The former is the substance of Dr. Fisher's Dudleyan Lecture at Harvard, delivered nine years ago, and is now republished by the Presbyterian Board, in spite of its Congregational point of view. It is an acceptable service to have the writing made easily accessible again in good shape. Dr. Dykes's little pamphlet has the general appearance of a review article. It is easily and plainly written, and it deals with the three phases of the question indicated by the phrases "Episcopal succession," "sacramental grace," and "exclusive claim to be the true church." The pamphlets are nicely printed and contain respectively twenty-seven and fifteen octavo pages.

"The tree is known by its fruit" is a pithy saying which is true not only of men but of institutions and systems. The principle contained in it has been applied by the Rev. Dr. James S. Dennis to the subject of the work of missions in his recent volume entitled *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. The scope of the volume is further designated by the sub-title, "A sociological study of foreign missions." The present stately volume of almost five hundred octavo pages is the first of two which are to contain a course of lectures delivered at Princeton, Auburn, Lane, and West-

ern Theological Seminaries about a year and a half ago. But the lectures have been much expanded, so that they have been more than quadrupled in length, and thereby they have gained immeasurably in permanent value. It is not extravagant praise to say that this is the most important book on missions to appear in late years. Not only is this true of it from the point of view of the facts presented, but also from that of the object in the author's mind. It has been the fashion of superficial travellers to minimize or ridicule the efforts of missionaries and the success of their endeavors. Such persons have received a merited rebuke in the recent articles of Julian Hawthorne on the Indian famine, and in the volume before us is an array of facts which would refute such calumny-scatterers if they were worthy of refutation. Such persons harp upon the paucity of converts, and do not perceive that one of the most important offices of missionary labor lies in the presentation of newer, better, and loftier ideals to the people among which it is performed. It is to this latter, the sociological aspect of the case, that the author gives particular heed. This volume contains the expanded form of four lectures on "The Sociological Scope of Christian Missions," "The Social Evils of the Non-Christian World," "Ineffectual Remedies and the Causes of their Failure," and "Christianity the Social Hope of the Nations." The second volume is to contain lectures on "The Dawn of a Sociological Era in Missions" and "The Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress," together with a dozen statistical statements upon various phases of the subject. The requirements of space alone prohibit us from giving a fuller statement of the riches of this volume. The qualifications of the author for his task are most indubitable; for many years engaged in practical missionary work in Syria, he has sought information from others upon the world-field, and from multitudes of replies he has compacted this remarkable volume. In it the letterpress and numerous illustrations vie to present the salient and striking facts of the case. At the same time he calls attention to the fact that mis-

sionary work is, as it were, only in its infancy ; that " Christianity as yet touches the age-incrusted and unyielding surface of heathen society only in spots, and has hardly broken its way through to an extent which enables us to recognize fully its power or to discover its transforming tendencies in the non-Christian world." What, then, shall be the perfection of its work? (New York and Chicago : Fleming H. Revell Co. \$2.50.)

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
Am. Cath. Q. R.	American Catholic Quarterly Review.	Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
Am. J. T.	American Journal of Theology.	Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South. (Quarterly.)
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	Miss. H.	Missionary Herald.
Bib. W.	Biblical World.	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	New W.	The New World. (Quarterly.)
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.	Pre. M.	Preacher's Magazine.
Chr. Q.	Christian Quarterly.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Church Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.	Presb. Ref. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Ex.	Expositor.	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Episc. Review.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	Ref. C. R.	Reformed Church Review. (Quarterly.)
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Treas.	The Treasury.
Luth. C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quarterly.)

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the September number of periodicals.

- Ainu** of Japan, Something about the. (J. Batchelor) Miss. R.
American Christianity. (L. W. Bacon) Chr. L.
Anuradhapura, the buried city of Ceylon. (S. W. Holland) Miss. H.
Apostles in art. (E. A. Schell) Meth. R.
Archæology as a substitute for Old Testament history. (A. H. Sayce) Hom. R.
Atheism in religions. (J. H. Crooker) New W.
Burden and heat of the day. (W. B. Carpenter) Pre. M.
Catullus : a study in Roman lyric poetry. (E. W. Bowen) Meth. R. So.
China, Mob in. (A. H. Smith) Miss. H.
Christ, New sayings of. (F. Brown) Treas.
Christ, New sayings of. (M. R. James) Chr. L.
Christ sanctifying Himself. (M. G. Pearse) Pre. M.
Christian Alliance missionary offerings. Miss. R.
Christian experience, Secret of. (W. R. Nicoll) Chr. L.
Chronology of the New Testament, Harnack's. (F. A. Christie) New W.
City of God, Freedom of the. (G. Matheson) Ex.
2 Corinthians, Are the two epistles in. (J. H. Kennedy) Ex.
Creation story, Origin of the. (J. F. McCurdy) Hom. R.

- Davidson, A. B.** (S. D. F. Salmond) Ex. T.
Demon possession and allied themes. (W. R. Newbold) New W.
Dialectal survivals. (C. S. Brown) Meth. R. So.
Drummond, Henry, and his books. (H. M. Simmons) New W.
God's "yet." (J. Parker) Pre. M.
Creek Church, Good word for the. (C. E. Butler) Meth. R. So.
Hommel on the evidential value of Hebrew proper names. (G. B. Gray) Ex. T.
Hommel's "Ancient Hebrew Tradition." (O. C. Whitehouse) Ex. R.
Hypocrisy. (P. M. Watters) Treas.
Illustrations, Homely. (J. J. Pool) Pre. M.
Immersion in England, History of. (J. P. Hamilton) Meth. R. So.
Immortality, Ethical significance of the idea of. (F. C. S. Schiller) New W.
"In the blood of the Lamb." (J. M. Gibson) Ex.
India, Is another mutiny impending in. (W. F. Oldham) Meth. R.
India, Mission hospital in. Miss. H.
Industrial farm colony. (W. M. Sinclair) Hom. R.
Industrial peace and progress, Social and religious aspects of. (G. Taylor) Treas.
Isaiah, Missionary future in the Book of. (T. J. Ramsdell) Bib. W.
Islam, Some aspects of. (A. Reville) New W.
Japan, The year in. (G. W. Knox) Miss. R.
Japan, Religions of. (W. E. Griffis) Miss. R.
Jenin, From, to Nazareth. (S. Mathews) Bib. W.
Jesus as a teacher. (C. F. Thwing) Bib. W.
Jewish literature, Extra-canonical. (F. H. Wallace). Meth. R.
Jowett, Benjamin. (J. W. Chadwick) New W.
Lambeth conference and the historic episcopate. (V. Bartlett) Chr. L.
Logia, Some notes on the. (J. R. Harris) Chr. L.
Logia, The so-called, and their relation to the canonical scriptures. (H. A. Redpath) Ex.
Madagascar, Military rule in. Miss. R.
Madras Christian Association. (D. McConaughy) Miss. R.
Methodist Episcopal Church: which way. (D. A. Goodsell) Meth. R.
Methodism, Making of: studies in the genesis of institutions. (J. J. Tigert) Meth. R. So.
Methodism in the South, Early history of. (G. Alexander) Meth. R. So.
Minister and his influence with men. (M. W. Hissey) Treas.
Mt. Holyoke College. Treas.
Napoleonism in America. (F. F. Ellinwood) Hom. R.
Negro. Apology for the higher education of the. (J. W. E. Bowen) Meth. R.
New Testament, Harnack's chronology of the. (F. A. Christie) New W.
Oxyrhynchus fragment. (H. B. Swete) Ex. T.
Paul as preacher. (W. C. Wilkinson) Hom. R.
Paul's mind and method. (S. Baring-Gould) Ex.
Peace. (A. J. F. Behrends) Treas.
Preachers, Great, I have heard. (J. B. Shaw) Hom. R.
Preaching, Impressionist. (W. L. Watkinson) Meth. R.
Priestly code, Character of the proper names in the. (G. B. Gray) Ex.

Promethean myth. (C. A. Waterfield) Meth.R.So.
Protestant Church in Catholic countries. (G. H. Schodde) Treas.
Pulpit, Weakness of the modern. (J. S. Gilbert) Pre.M.
Ramabai Pandita and her work. (G. E. Wilder) Miss.R.
Righteousness, Revolt against. (G. J. H. Northcroft) Meth.R.So.
Sapphire, German. (A. Hoffman) Meth.R.
Scotland, Movement of religious thought in, 1843-96. (R. M. Wenley) NewW.
Sermons, How I get my. (J. Haigh) Pre.M.
Skepticism, Typical eras of. (A. C. Armstrong) Meth.R.
Souls, Winning. (R. S. Pardington) Hom.R.
Suffering, personal, Problem of. (J. Watson) Ex.
Sunday laws, good and bad. (N. Smyth) Chr.L.
Theology, Terminology of the new. (W. Kirkus) NewW.
Thomson, James, as a man, descriptive poet and dramatist. (W. H. Key) Meth.R.So.
Two fig trees : an address to children. (H. Macmillan) Chr.L.
Unemployed, Cry of the. (A. Legge) Pre.M.
Wisdom, Old Testament (Chokma). (M. Welton) Bib.W.
Woman's work. (A. T. Pierson) Miss.R.
Zionism. (E. Reich). Chr.L.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

Biblical World.

Chicago, September, 1897.

Jesus as a teacher.
 From Jenin to Nazareth.
 The Old Testament wisdom (chokma).
 Missionary future in the Book of Isaiah.
 Ethical teachings of Jesus in relation to the ethics of the Pharisees and of the Old Testament.
 Primitive era of Christianity.

Christian Literature.

New York, September, 1897.

Lambeth conference and the historic episcopate.
 Secret of Christian experience.
 New sayings of Christ.
 Some notes on the Logia.
 Zionism.
 The two fig-trees : an address to children.

Sunday laws, good and bad.
 American Christianity.

The Expositor.

London, September, 1897.

Hommel's "Ancient Hebrew Tradition."
 Character of the proper names in the priestly code : a reply to Professor Hommel.
 Problem of personal suffering.
 St. Paul's mind and method.
 Freedom of the City of God.
 "In the Blood of the Lamb."
 The so-called Logia, and their relation to the canonical scriptures.
 Are the two epistles in 2 Corinthians?

The Homiletic Review.

New York, September, 1897.

Limitations of archæology as a

substitute for Old Testament history.
 Napoleonism in America : a lesson in Providence.
 Apostle Paul as a preacher.
 An industrial farm colony.
 Origin of the creation story.
 Winning souls.
 Great preachers I have heard.

Methodist Review.

New York, September-October, 1897.

Which way ?
 Relation of extra-canonical Jewish literature to the New Testament.
 Apostles in art.
 An apology for the higher education of the negro.
 Impressionist preaching.
 Is another mutiny impending in India ?
 Typical eras of skepticism.
 German sapphire.

The Methodist Review (South.)

Nashville, September-October, 1897.

Two chapters from the early history of Methodism in the South.
 Dialectal survivals.
 Promethean myth.
 Good word for the Greek Church.
 Catullus : a study in Roman lyric poetry.
 Revolt against righteousness.
 James Thomson as a man, descriptive poet, and dramatist.
 History of immersion in England.
 Making of Methodism : studies in the genesis of institutions.

The Missionary Herald.

Boston, September, 1897.

Mission hospital in India.
 Anuradhapura, the buried city of Ceylon.

Mob in China.
 Missionary schools.

Missionary Review.

New York, September, 1897.

Woman's work at home and abroad.
 Religions of Japan.
 Something about the Ainu of Japan.
 Year in Japan.
 Bandita Ramabai and her work.
 Military rule in Madagascar.
 Christian alliance missionary offerings.
 Madras Christian association.

The New World.

Boston, September, 1897.

Benjamin Jowett.
 Ethical significance of the idea of immortality.
 Terminology of the new theology.
 Harnack's chronology of the New Testament.
 Movement of religious thought in Scotland, 1843-96.
 Henry Drummond and his books.
 Demon possession and allied themes.
 Atheism in religions.
 Some aspects of Islam.

Preacher's Magazine.

New York, September, 1897.

God's "yet."
 Burden and heat of the day.
 Christ sanctifying Himself.
 Cry of the unemployed.
 How I get my sermons.
 Weakness of the modern pulpit.
 Homely illustrations.
 Science and the resurrection.

The Treasury.

New York, September, 1897.

Mt. Holyoke college.
 Hypocrisy.

Peace.
 New sayings of Jesus.
 Social and religious aspects of industrial peace and progress.
 The minister and his influence with men.
 Protestant Church in Catholic countries.;

MAGAZINES.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for October contains: "Two Principles in Recent American Fiction," James Lane Allen; "The French Mastery of Style," F. Brunetière; "Caleb West," F. Hopkinson Smith; "Forever and a Day," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "Twenty-five Years' Progress in Equatorial Africa," Henry M. Stanley; "Recent Discoveries Respecting the Origin of the Universe," T. J. J. See; "Sargasso Weed," Edmund Clarence Stedman; "A Russian Experiment in Self-Government," George Kennan; "Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Novelist," Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr.; "Martha's Lady," Sarah Orne Jewett; "In Majesty," Stuart Sterne; "The Upward Movement in Chicago," Henry B. Fuller; "The Training of Teachers: the Old View of Childhood, and the New," Frederick Burk; "Penelope's Progress," Kate Douglas Wiggin; "Forty Years of the *Atlantic Monthly*."

CONTENTS of the CENTURY for October are: "Heroes of Peace," Theodore Roosevelt; "Old English Masters," John C. Van Dyke; "The Art of Charles Keene," Joseph Pennell; "Marie Antoinette as Dauphine," Anna L. Bicknell; "The Blood-Red Blossom," George Edward Woodberry; "Hugh Wynne, Free

Quaker," S. Weir Mitchell; "What is an Aurora?" Alexander McAdie; "Campaigning with Grant," Horace Porter; "Up the Matterhorn in a Boat," Marion Manville Pope; "The Days of Jeanne d'Arc," Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Wild Animals in a New England Game-Park," G. T. Ferris; "The Baby Corps," Irving Bacheller; "The Heart of a Maid," Louise Herrick Wall; "Letters of Dr. Holmes to a Classmate," edited by Mary Blake Morse.

OCTOBER HARPER'S contains: "Spanish John," William McLennan; "The Strategic Features of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea," Captain A. T. Mahan, U. S. N.; "Autumn Leaves," D. T. Macdougall; "The Golfer's Conquest of America," Caspar Whitney; "Kilauea, the Home of Pele," Professor William Libbey; "Mrs. Upton's Device," John Kendrick Bangs; "The Great Stone of Sardis," Frank R. Stockton; "The Century's Progress in Chemistry," Henry Smith Williams, M.D.; "The Kentuckians," John Fox, Jr.; "Psyche," George Hibbard; "A Strange Tale of Gheel," Hezekiah Butterworth; "The Future of Railroad Investments," W. A. Crane; "There and Here," Alice Brown.

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for October are: "A Knight of Philadelphia," Joseph A. Altsheler; "Political Tricks and Tribulations," Allan Hendricks; "The Under Side of New Orleans," Frances Albert Dougherty; "Mrs. Meriwether's Wedding," Clarinda Pendleton Lamar; "Bad Story-Telling," Frederick M. Bird; "The Rise and Fall of Athletic Pastimes," Agnes Carr Sage; "The Strike at Barton's," William T. Nichols; "His-

toric Animals," F. G. De Fontaine; "A Buzzard's Banquet," Dallas Lore Sharp; "Some Literary Shrines of Manhattan," Theodore F. Wolfe.

SCRIPPER's for October contains: "The Wreck of Greece," Henry Norman; "The Workers," Walter A. Wyckoff; "Some Golf Pictures," A. B. Frost; "The Frigate-Ghost," Helen Gray Cone; "The Business of a Newspaper," J. Lincoln Steffens; "The Man with the Bacon Rind," William Henry Shelton; "Cecilia Beaux," William Walton; "The Unquiet Sex," Helen Watterson Moody; "The Durket Sperrret," Sarah Barnwell Elliott; "The Life of a College Professor," Bliss Perry.

LITERARY NOTES.

WE are in receipt of the first number of the new course of lessons on Universal Religion contained in *Progress*, published by the University Association of Chicago. This publication is not a monthly magazine containing sundry heterogeneous articles, but strictly a series of lessons issued monthly, corresponding indeed to what a university professor would dictate to his students in a college course on the subject. Courses in History and Literature have already been published, each covering a full year's work. The course as a whole will form the most complete treatise of the religions of the world ever issued, and will prove both interesting and instructive to people of all denominations.

THE Rev. S. J. Stone, author of "The Church's one Foundation," and other well-known hymns, is to publish this autumn

a new volume of poems through Messrs. Longman. It will probably bear the title "Lays of Iona," dealing as it does with Iona and St. Colomb. It represents several years of hard study and work. Mr. Stone is now rector of All Hallows, London Wall.

THE biography of Mrs. Stowe, by Mrs. James T. Fields, will be ready for publication in October. It cannot fail to be one of the interesting books of the season.

A NEW edition of the life of Dr. A. J. Gordon is announced in England. *The Christian* (London) says: "It is the most ably written and the most inspiring biography we have ever read. It is altogether a noble and notable book."

GEORGE EBERS, the novelist and Egyptologist, received, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, a specially printed volume entitled "Egyptica," and containing seventeen essays by former pupils of his, among them six who are professors of Egyptology at German universities.

THE new library at Washington has about 45 miles of shelving in the portion that is already finished, which will accommodate over 2,000,000 volumes, while the ultimate capacity of the building for books will be upward of 4,500,000 volumes, or nearly 100 miles of shelving.

IAN MACLAREN, it is said, will not publish any work of fiction this year. When his next volume of stories does appear, it is expected that it will deal with more than one theme found in America. His life of Christ, which is to be printed in *McClure's Magazine*, under the title of "The Life of the Master," is being carried steadily toward completion.

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 10th.)

- July 24.—Celebration of the *Mormon Jubilee* of Entrance of Mormons into Salt Lake Valley.
- July 27.—Opening of the *Lutheran Pen-Mar Assembly*, at Dixon, Ill.
- July 30.—First Biennial Convention of the *Young People's Alliance* of the (Lutheran) *Evangelical Association*, in Pittsburgh.
- Aug. 3-6.—Fifty-second Annual Conference of the (British) *Churches of Christ*, in Glasgow.
- Aug. 4.—Conference of the *Brotherhood of the Kingdom*, at Marlborough, N. Y.
- Aug. 8-14.—*Baptist Summer Meetings*, at Martha's Vineyard.
- Aug. 10.—Sixth Biennial Session of the *Board of Education* of the *Lutheran General Synod*, at Rock River Assembly, Ill.
- Aug. 12.—Fifth *United Presbyterian Reunion*, at Idlewild.
- Aug. 15-20.—*Ocean City Bible Conference*.
- Aug. 18.—Eleventh *National Temperance Convention*, at Saratoga, N. Y.
- Session of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, at Toronto, Canada.
- Aug. 18-23.—Ninth Annual Convention of the *United Presbyterian Young People's Christian Union*, in Indianapolis.
- Aug. 20-29.—Annual Session of the *Ocean Grove Camp Meeting*, Ocean Grove, N. J.
- Aug. 21-23.—*Farmers' and Anti-Saloon League Rally*, at Island Park, Orion, Mich.
- Aug. 27.—Session of the *Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Union*, in Scranton, Pa.
- Aug. 25-31.—"Zionist" Congress, in Basle.
- Aug. 30-Sept. 3.—*International Anti-Alcoholic Congress*, in Brussels, Belgium.
- Aug. 31-Sept. 4.—Session of the *American Social Science Association*, in Saratoga, N. Y.
- Sept. 1.—Opening of the Sessions of the *Old Catholic Congress*, in Vienna.
- Sept. 5-12.—Eleventh Session of *The Congress of Orientalists*, in Paris, France.
- Sept. 7-10.—British Conference of the *Young Men's Christian Associations*, in Glasgow, Scotland.
- Sept. 9-10.—Meetings of the Executive Committees of the *Societies of Friends*, at Clear Creek, Ill.
- Sept. 10.—Conference on the *Observance of the Lord's Day*, in Toronto, Canada.

PERSONAL

Professor Wilhelm Bunkhofer, one of the most learned priests in the Grand Duchy of Baden, has withdrawn from the Roman Catholics and joined the *Old Catholics*.

The Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, will refuse to stand for a re-election.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

The Rev. Father Trobec has just been appointed Bishop of *St. Cloud*.

The Very Rev. Patrick Vincent has been made Bishop Coadjutor of *Mailand, Australia*.

EPISCOPAL.

The *Lambeth Conference* formally recognized as *Archbishops* the two *Canadian* Metropolitans, and advised that the Bishops of *Capetown, Calcutta, Sydney, and Jamaica* assume the same title.

The bishopric of *Bristol, England*, has been filled by the appointment of the *Rev. George Forrest Browne, D.D.*, Canon of *St. Paul's* and Bishop Suffragan of *Stepney*.

The Rev. Montagu John Stone-Wigg, M.A., Canon and Sub-

Dean of *Brisbane Cathedral*, has been chosen as the first *Bishop* of the Anglican Mission in *New Guinea*.

The election for a bishop of *Meath, Ireland*, failed, and the names of *Canon Keene* and *Dr. Bernard* were sent to the Bench of Bishops.

Rev. Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, Head of the *Oxford House, Bethnal Green*, has been appointed Canon of *St. Paul's Cathedral* in the room of *Canon Brown*, nominated to the new See of *Bristol*.

EDUCATIONAL—COLLEGES.

The Rev. William W. Foster, Jr., D.D., has been elected president of *Rush University, Holly Springs, Miss.*; the *Rev. Guy W. Wadsworth*, of *Occidental College, Los Angeles*; *Professor Jerome Hall Raymond*, of the *University of*

West Virginia; and *Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews*, late of *Brown University*, takes the presidency of the new *Cosmopolitan University*. *Professor E. C. Dargan* declines the presidency of *Furman University*.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

The Rev. Herbert F. Briggs has been chosen Professor of

New Testament exegesis in *Iliff School of Theology*.

The Rev. R. Hudson, tutor of Selwyn College, Cambridge, has been appointed Principal

of the *National Society's Training College* at St. Mark's, Chelsea.

OBITUARY.

Bickersteth, Rt. Rev. Edward (Anglican), *D.D.*, in London, England, Aug. 5, aged 47. Dr. Bickersteth was the eldest son of the Bishop of Exeter; he studied at Pembroke College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1873; the next year he won the Scholefield and Evans University prizes; was ordained as curate at Holy Trinity, Hampstead, 1874; returned as lecturer in theology to Pembroke College, 1875; went to India as head of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, 1877; impaired health caused his return in 1884, when he became rector of Framlingham; was elected bishop of Central Japan, 1886, and was at the time of his death bishop of South Tokio, Japan.

Day, Rev. Henry (Baptist), *D.D.* (Denison University, 1861), in Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 1, aged 79. He was born at Westfield, Mass.; was graduated from Brown University, 1843; became teacher in the High School at Providence, R. I., the same year; secured a license to preach, but went as professor of Mathematics to Georgetown College, Ky., 1848; two years later he returned to Brown and Harvard for further study to fit himself for the chair of Physical Science; became pastor at Ashland, Mass., 1849; accepted the chair of Natural Philosophy in Brown University, 1851; returned to the pastorate at the Broad Street Church, Philadelphia, 1852; was compelled by failure of health to retire, 1857, but two

years' rest enabled him to return to work, and he accepted the pastorate of the First Church, Indianapolis, 1862; he finally retired from work, 1878, and had since then resided in Indianapolis.

Emery, Rev. James Crawford (African Methodist Episcopal), in Philadelphia, Aug. 11, aged 65. He was born in Knox County, Ind.; began to study for the ministry, 1859; was employed on a supply boat under General Grant, 1862-63; entered the ministry, 1863; was elected Secretary of Education by the General Conference, 1876; was appointed Secretary of Finance and Treasurer, 1878; was sent as delegate to the first Methodist Ecumenical Council in London, 1881; became manager of the Book Concern, and editor of *The Christian Recorder*, 1884; was elected to the bishopric, 1896.

How, Rt. Rev. William Walsham (Anglican), *D.D.* (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1879), in Ireland, Aug. 10, aged 74. He was born at Shrewsbury; was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, graduating B.A., 1845, and M.A., 1847; was ordained deacon, 1846, and priest, 1847; became curate of St. George, Kidderminster, 1846; of Holy Cross, 1848; was rector of Whittington, 1851-79; diocesan inspector of schools, 1852-70; rural dean of Oswestry, 1853-79; select preacher at Oxford, 1868-69; proctor of diocese of St. Asaph, 1869-79; ex-

aming chaplain to the bishop of Lichfield, 1878-79; rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, 1879; was appointed suffragan bishop of Bedford, 1879; was translated to the bishopric of Wakefield, 1888; since 1889 he had been prebendary of Llanefydd and chancellor of St. Asaph's; since 1879, prebendary of Bron-desbury in St. Paul's. He was a voluminous writer, principally along devotional lines, poetry, and hymns. He wrote the official Jubilee Hymn, set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan.

McDonald, Rev. Noah A. (Presbyterian), *D.D.*, in Shade Gap, Pa., Aug. 12, aged 67. He was born in Amberson Valley, Pa.; was graduated from Jefferson College, Pa., 1857, and from the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, 1860; he was licensed, 1859, and ordained an evangelist, 1860; he offered and was accepted as missionary to Siam, reaching his field in September, 1860; his life work continued here for twenty-six years, during which period he translated many of the Old Testament books into Siamese and revised a former translation of the New Testament; he was often called on to serve our national government as acting consul, *chargé d'affaires*, etc.; he went as an ambassador in 1869 to secure protection for the missionaries; he returned to the States in 1886, and served as stated supply for the Robertsdale church for about ten years.

Patton, Rev. George (Presbyterian), *D.D.*, at Windsor Beach, Aug. 12, aged 69. Dr. Patton was born in Ireland, but was brought to this country while an infant; he was graduated from the University of Penn-

sylvania, and studied theology at Newburgh, N. Y.; he was licensed to preach, 1855, and ordained, 1856; was called at once to Seneca, Ontario County, N. Y., where he remained for fifteen years; he then accepted the pastorate of the Third Church of Rochester, which he retained till three years ago, becoming pastor *emeritus* in 1894.

Rice, Rev. William (Methodist Episcopal), *D.D.* (Wesleyan University, Conn.), at Springfield, Mass., Aug. 17, aged 76. His education was gained in the public schools and Wesleyan Academy; he entered the Methodist ministry in 1841, and filled the following appointments: 1841-42, North Malden; 1843-44, Saugus; 1845-46, Marblehead; 1847-48, Boston, North Russell Street; 1849, Lynn, South Street; 1850-51, Chelsea; 1852-53, Chicopee; 1854-55, Boston, Bromfield Street; 1856, Chelsea, Park Street; 1857-60, supernumerary; 1861-63, nominal; 1864-65, East Longmeadow; 1866-72, nominal; 1873-82, chaplain of Hampden County House of Correction; 1883-97, supernumerary. He was a trustee of Wesleyan University; a member of the State and Springfield Boards of Education; and since 1861 secretary and librarian of the city library.

Sherman, Rev. David (Methodist Episcopal), *D.D.* (Wesleyan College, 1872), in Brookline, Mass., Aug. 14, aged 75. Dr. Sherman's education was gained in the classical school at New Lebanon, N. Y., Bristol's classical school at Canaan, and the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham; he entered the Methodist ministry in 1843, and

- served as follows: 1843-44, Ware; 1845-46, Chicopee; 1847, Jenksville; 1848-49, North Blandford; 1850-51, Shrewsbury; 1852-53, Southbridge; 1854, Boston, Centenary; 1855, Warren; 1856-57, Spencer; 1858-59, Warren; 1860, supernumerary; 1861-64, Worcester District; 1865, Medford; 1866-69, Springfield District; 1870-73, Lynn District; 1874-77, Boston District; 1878-80, Lynn, St. Paul's; 1881-83, Hopkinton; 1884-86, Holliston; 1887-91, Easthampton; supernumerary, 1892-97. He was delegate to the General Conferences of 1864, 1868, and 1872. His writings include "New England Divines," "History of the Discipline," "History of Wesleyan Academy," and the "Sherman Genealogy."
- Abbott, Rev. Walter Guppy* (Anglican), Rural Dean of St. Sepulchre's, in London, Aug. 7, aged 64.
- Black, Rev. W. S.* (Methodist Episcopal, South), *D.D.*, in Littleton, N. C., Aug. 4.
- Burdick, Rev. Charles R.* (Presbyterian), in Oshkosh, Wis., Aug. 22, aged 72.
- Burgess, Rev. Seth* (Methodist Episcopal), in Cortland, N. Y., Aug. 6, aged 84.
- Cramer, Rev. Frederick* (Methodist Episcopal), in Cincinnati, Aug. 6.
- Darwall, Rev. Leicester* (Anglican), at Tenby, England, July 22, aged 84.
- Desmarais, Rev. W. H.* (Canadian Methodist Missionary), at St. Phillip de Chester, Aug. 7.
- Dickinson, Rev. Samuel Fowler* (Congregational), at Colorado Springs, Aug. 7, aged 58.
- Dodge, Rev. Benjamin* (Congregational), in Pleasant Hill, Tenn., July 13, aged 79.
- Grossman, Rev. G. M.* (Evangelical Lutheran, Bishop), in Waverly, Ia., Aug. 25, aged 74.
- Harrison, Rev. James* (Anglican), at Villa de la Roche, Spa, Belgium, Aug. 10, aged 64.
- Hopkins, Rev. Perry* (American-African Union Methodist, Bishop), in New York, Aug. 20, aged 75.
- Mattice, Rev. Henry* (Reformed, Dutch), in Neperan, N. Y., Aug. 12.
- Nelson, Rev. A. J.* (Methodist Episcopal), in San Francisco, Aug. 12, aged 69.
- Parnell, Rev. Charles* (Anglican), at Brighton, England, July 28, aged 68.
- Pritchard, Rev. Henry* (Welsh Wesleyan Methodist), in Liverpool, Aug. 3, aged 54.
- Railsbach, Rev. Lycurgus* (Presbyterian), *D.D.*, at Shreveport, La., Aug. 5.
- Reynolds, Rev. Thomas T.* (Presbyterian), at Irwin, O., July 6, aged 30.
- Risher, Rev. Daniel W.* (Methodist Episcopal), near Ellsworth, Ind., Aug. 14, aged 64.
- Rowlands, Rev. Daniel T.* (Presbyterian), at Aberdeen, S. D., July 21, aged 74.
- Simms, Rev. Edward* (Anglican), *M.A.*, at Salterton, England, July 30, aged 95.
- Stevens, Rev. D. T.* (Baptist), in Auburn, Me., Aug. 24.
- Trotter, Rev. Alexander* (Presbyterian), at Vassar, Mich., June 7, aged 87.

Vanderveer, Rev. Lauren (Dutch Reformed), in Schenectady, N. Y., Aug. 17, aged 41.

Viso, Most Rev. Monosvilloy (Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toledo, Spain), in Madrid, Aug. 12, aged 86.

Waters, Rev. David (Dutch Re-

formed), D.D., LL.D., in Halifax, N. S., Aug. 3.

Wilkinson, Rev. John (Anglican), at Gateshead, England, Aug. 7, aged 59.

Wood, Rev. Arthur C. F. (Anglican), in St. John's, Newfoundland, aged 58.

CALENDAR.

[The compiler will welcome notices of meetings of general importance and interest, provided such notices reach him before the 10th of the month prior to that in which the meetings are to take place. Exact dates and names of places, when and where the meetings are to be held, are desired.]

Oct. 11-16.—Autumn Meetings of the *British Congregational Union*, in Birmingham.

Oct. 12-15.—Eighty-eighth Annual Meeting of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, in New Haven, Conn.

Oct. 12-17.—*Social, Hygienic, and Philanthropic Congress*, at Battle Creek, Mich.

Oct. 13-17.—First International Convention of the *Brotherhood of St. Andrew*, in Buffalo, N. Y.

Oct. 14.—Twenty-sixth Convention of the *General Council, Evangelical Lutheran Church* in North America, in Erie, Pa.

Oct. 14-17.—*All-India Epworth League* Convention, in Calcutta.

Oct. 16-20.—Session of the *National Prison Association*, in Austin, Tex.

Oct. 19.—Meeting of the *Protestant Episcopal Missionary Council*, at Milwaukee.

Oct. 19-21.—Fifty-first Annual Meeting of the *American Mis-*

sionary Association, in Minneapolis.

Oct. 20-25.—Fifth Conference of *Friends* (Orthodox), in Indianapolis.

Oct. 23-26.—World's Convention of the *Woman's Christian Temperance Unions*, in Toronto.

Oct. 26-27.—Annual Convention of the *Open and Institutional Church League*, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Oct. 26-Nov. 1.—Fifth Annual Convention of the *Woman's Parsonage and Home Missionary Society* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Knoxville, Tenn.

Oct. 27.—Meeting of the *Congregational Woman's Home Missionary Association*, in Boston.

Oct. 29-Nov. 3.—Convention of the *National Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, in Buffalo, N. Y.

Nov. 3-4.—Meeting of the *Congregational Woman's Board of Missions*, in New London, Conn.

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DR. R. S. STORRS is likely to resign the presidency of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Having entered on the seventy-seventh year of his age, he cannot longer bear the burdens of the office. This announcement will be received with universal regret.

An Ancient Prayer.

OLD John Ward, who was pilloried by Pope in the "Dunciad," and who actually stood in the pillory in the year 1727, when he was said to have been worth £200,000, was, nevertheless, a pious man. He had large estates in London and Essex, and did not omit to pray for their welfare in the following manner: "O Lord, I beseech Thee to preserve the two counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquake; and as I have a mortgage in Hertfordshire, I beg of Thee likewise to have an eye of compassion on that county; and for the rest of the counties, deal with them as Thou pleasest." —*Household Words*.

Christian Literature

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES

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CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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THIS number concludes Vol. XVII. of *Christian Literature*. Our issue will be the first under an arrangement with Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, whereby we become the American Publishers of *The Expository Times*, to which we shall add an *American Department* on American Books and subjects of special interest here.* It will be the aim of the Editors and Publishers to increase the attractiveness of this monthly to American readers and to make it more representative of American scholarship. THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY are confident that this combination of the two monthlies will be satisfactory to all concerned, and result in a better periodical than has heretofore appeared. Please note following pages.

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This is one of the brightest magazines of homiletic and religious character from over the ocean. . . . We always find a little to begin reading "The Expository Times," because, once started, there is no place to stop till the review is read and the morning is gone.—*The Treasury, N. Y.*

The "Notes of Recent Exposition" in this publication are of particular value, as touching upon a variety of subjects relating to Biblical archaeology and other like things, presenting the results in condensed form, which are not likely to pass under the eye of ordinary readers.—*The Standard, Chicago.*

"The Expository Times" is always a welcome and useful visitor to the study table of the Bible student.—*The Church, Chicago.*

In the name of its contributors, in the range of subjects which it treats, in the book reviews which it presents, and in the text which it illustrates, it furnishes to the preacher assistance of a kind which no homiletical magazine can possibly be expected to provide. In brightness and freshness it is not excelled.—*The Biblical World, Chicago.*

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THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES, BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, AND EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

Apart from the interest which the Sacred Books of all religions possess in the eyes of the theologian, and, more particularly, of the missionary, to whom an accurate knowledge of them is as indispensable as a knowledge of the enemy's country is to a general, these works have of late assumed a new importance, as viewed in the character of ancient historical documents. In every country where Sacred Books have been preserved, whether by oral tradition or by writing, they are the oldest records, and mark the beginning of what may be called documentary, in opposition to purely traditional, history.

There is nothing more ancient in India than the Vedas; and, if we except the Vedas and the literature connected with them, there is again no literary work in India which, so far as we know at present, can with certainty be referred to an earlier date than that of the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists. Whatever age we may assign to the various portions of the Avesta and to their final arrangement, there is no book in the Persian language of greater antiquity than the Sacred Books of the followers of Zarathustra, nay, even than their translation in Pehlevi. There may have been an extensive ancient literature in China long before Khung-fû-ze and Láo-ze, but among all that was rescued and preserved of it, the five King and the four Shû claim again the highest antiquity. As to the Koran, it is known to be the fountain-head both of the religion and of the literature of the Arabs.

This being the case, it was but natural that the attention of the historian should of late have been more strongly attracted by these Sacred Books, as likely to afford most valuable information, not only on the religion, but also on the moral sentiments, the social institutions, the legal maxims of some of the most important nations of antiquity. There are not many nations that have preserved sacred writings, and many of those that have been preserved have but lately become accessible to us in their original form, through the rapid advance of Oriental scholarship in Europe. Neither Greeks, nor Romans, nor Germans, nor Celts, nor Slavs have left us anything that deserves the name of Sacred Books. The

[*Sacred Books of the East.*
Specimen page.]

that I object to dilettanti, if they only are what by their name they profess to be, devoted lovers, and not mere amateurs. The religions of antiquity must always be approached in a loving spirit, and the dry and cold-blooded scholar is likely to do here as much mischief as the enthusiastic sciolist. But true love does not ignore all faults and failings : on the contrary, it scans them keenly, though only in order to be able to understand, to explain, and thus to excuse them. To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of the religious consciousness of man, must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world ; and he whose heart cannot quiver with the first quivering rays of human thought and human faith, as revealed in those ancient documents, is, in his own way, as unfit for these studies as, from another side, the man who shrinks from copying and collating ancient MSS., or toiling through volumes of tedious commentary. What we want here, as everywhere else, is the truth, and the whole truth ; and if the whole truth must be told, it is that, however radiant the dawn of religious thought, it is not without its dark clouds, its chilling colds, its noxious vapours. Whoever does not know these, or would hide them from his own sight and from the sight of others, does not know and can never understand the real toil and travail of the human heart in its first religious aspirations ; and not knowing its toil and travail, can never know the intensity of its triumphs and its joys.

In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the religions of the East, we must have before all things complete and thoroughly

[*Sacred Books of the East.*
Specimen page.]

faithful translations of their sacred books. Extracts will no longer suffice. We do not know Germany, if we know the Rhine; nor Rome, when we have admired St. Peter's. No one who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one at all events, so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive, or, lastly, what is difficult to construe and to understand. We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, aye, and to a great extent is so still, how the Sacred Books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other.

To some minds this problem may seem to be no problem at all. To those (and I do not speak of Christians only) who look upon the sacred books of all religions except their own as necessarily the outcome of human or superhuman ignorance and depravity, the mixed nature of their contents may seem to be exactly what it ought to be, what they expected it would be. But there are other and more reverent minds who can feel a divine afflatus in the sacred books, not only of their own, but of other religions also, and to them the mixed character of some of the ancient sacred canons must always be extremely perplexing.

I can account for it to a certain extent, though not entirely to my own satisfaction. Most of the

[*Sacred Books of the East.*
Specimen page.]

myself grudged no praise to what to my mind is really beautiful or sublime in the early revelations of religious truth, I feel the less hesitation in fulfilling the duty of the true scholar, and placing before historians and philosophers accurate, complete, and unembellished versions of some of the sacred books of the East. Such versions alone will enable them to form a true and just estimate of the real development of early religious thought, so far as we can still gain a sight of it in literary records to which the highest human or even divine authority has been ascribed by the followers of the great religions of antiquity. It often requires an effort to spoil a beautiful sentence by a few words which might so easily be suppressed, but which are there in the original, and must be taken into account quite as much as the pointed ears in the beautiful Faun of the Capitol. We want to know the ancient religions such as they really were, not such as we wish they should have been. We want to know, not their wisdom only, but their folly also ; and while we must learn to look up to their highest points where they seem to rise nearer to heaven than anything we were acquainted with before, we must not shrink from looking down into their stony tracts, their dark abysses, their muddy moraines, in order to comprehend both the height and the depth of the human mind in its searchings after the Infinite.

I can answer for myself and for those who have worked with me, that our translations are truthful, that we have suppressed nothing, that we have varnished nothing, however hard it seemed sometimes even to write it down.

There is only one exception. There are in ancient

[*Sacred Books of the East.*
Specimen page.]

pantheism of India, which is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people. *Ex oriente lux.*'

This may seem strong language, and, in some respects, too strong. But I thought it right to quote it here, because, whatever may be urged against Schopenhauer, he was a thoroughly honest thinker and honest speaker, and no one would suspect him of any predilection for what has been so readily called Indian mysticism. That Schelling and his school should use rapturous language about the Upanishads, might carry little weight with that large class of philosophers by whom everything beyond the clouds of their own horizon is labelled mysticism. But that Schopenhauer should have spoken of the Upanishads as 'products of the highest wisdom' (*Ausgeburten der höchsten Weisheit*), that he should have placed the pantheism there taught high above the pantheism of Bruno, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Scotus Erigena, as brought to light again at Oxford in 1681², may perhaps secure a more considerate reception for these relics of ancient wisdom than anything that I could say in their favour.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Greater, however, than the influence exercised on the philosophical thought of modern Europe, has been the impulse which these same Upanishads have imparted to the religious life of modern India. In about the same year (1774 or 1775) when the first MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads was received by Anquetil Duperron, Rammohun Roy³ was born in India, the reformer and reviver of the ancient religion of the Brahmans. A man who in his youth could write a book 'Against the Idolatry of all Religions,' and who afterwards expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ⁴,' was not likely to retain anything of the sacred literature of his own religion, unless he had perceived in it the same

¹ Loc. cit. II, p. 428.

² Loc. cit. I, p. 6. These passages were pointed out to me by Professor Noiré.

³ Born 1774; died at 2.30 A.M., on Friday, 28th September, 1833.

⁴ Last Days of Rammohun Roy, by Mary Carpenter, 1866, p. 135.

[*Sacred Books of the East.*
Specimen page.]

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. There are three branches of the law. Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first¹,

2. Austerity the second, and to dwell as a Brahmakârin in the house of a tutor, always mortifying the body in the house of a tutor, is the third. All these obtain the worlds of the blessed; but the Brahmasamstha alone (he who is firmly grounded in Brahman) obtains immortality.

3. Pragâpati brooded on the worlds. From them, thus brooded on, the threefold knowledge (sacrifice) issued forth. He brooded on it, and from it, thus brooded on, issued the three syllables, Bhûh, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ.

4. He brooded on them, and from them, thus brooded on, issued the Om. As all leaves are attached to a stalk, so is all speech (all words) attached to the Om (Brahman). Om is all this, yea, Om is all this.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. The teachers of Brahman (Veda) declare, as the Prâtaḥ-savana (morning-oblation) belongs to the Vasus, the Mâdhyandina-savana (noon-libation) to

¹ Not the first in rank or succession, but only in enumerating the three branches of the law. This first branch corresponds to the second stage, the âsrama of the householder. Austerity is meant for the Vânaprastha, the third âsrama, while the third is intended for the Brahmakârin, the student, only that the naishṭhika or perpetual Brahmakârin here takes the place of the ordinary student. The Brahmasamstha would represent the fourth âsrama, that of the Sannyâsin or parivrâg, who has ceased to perform any works, even the tapas or austerities of the Vânaprastha.

[Sacred Books of the East.
Specimen page.]

7. The door-keeper went to look for Raikva, but returned saying, 'I found him not.' Then the king said: 'Alas! where a Brâhmaṇa should be searched for (in the solitude of the forest), there go for him.'

8. The door-keeper came to a man who was lying beneath a car and scratching his sores¹. He addressed him, and said: 'Sir, are you Raikva with the car?'

He answered: 'Here I am.'

Then the door-keeper returned, and said: 'I have found him.'

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Then Gānasruti Pautrâyaṇa took six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules, went to Raikva and said:

2. 'Raikva, here are six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules; teach me the deity which you worship.'

3. The other replied: 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sûdra, together with the cows.'

Then Gānasruti Pautrâyaṇa took again a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, and his own daughter, and went to him.

4. He said to him: 'Raikva, there are a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, this wife, and this village in which thou dwellest. Sir, teach me!'

5. He, opening her mouth², said: 'You have

¹ It is curious that in a hymn of the Atharva-veda (V, 22, 5, 8) takman, apparently a disease of the skin, is relegated to the Mahāvṛśhas, where Raikva dwelt. Roth, Zur Literatur des Veda, p. 36.

² To find out her age. The commentator translates, 'Raikva, knowing her mouth to be the door of knowledge, i. e. knowing that for her he might impart his knowledge to Gānasruti, and that

7. They went to their father Pragâpati and said : 'Sir, who is the best of us?' He replied : 'He by whose departure the body seems worse than worst, he is the best of you.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like mute people, not speaking, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then speech went back.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like blind people, not seeing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the eye went back.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like deaf people, not hearing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the ear went back.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like children whose mind is not yet formed, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear. Thus we lived.' Then the mind went back.

12. The breath, when on the point of departing, tore up the other senses, as a horse, going to start,

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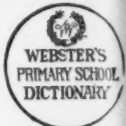
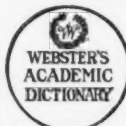
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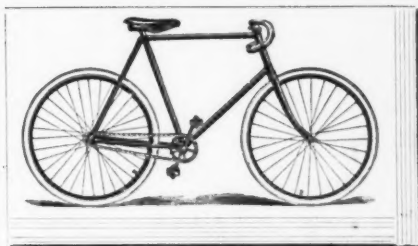
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